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ABSTRACT

The history section of the Proceedings contains the following 17 papers: "A Bid for Legitimacy: The Women's Press Club Movement, 1881-1900" (Elizabeth V. Burt); "'Securing the Affections of Those People at This Critical Juncture': Newspaper Portrayal of Colonial-Native American Relations, 1754-1763" (David A. Copeland); "'The Unfortunate Conflict in Far Off Asia': Three Black Newspapers View the Vietnam War, 1967" (Frank E. Fee, Jr.); "The Muckrakers' Reign on 'The American Magazine,' 1906-1911" (Michele C. Glidden); "Common Forms for Uncommon Actions: The Search for Political Organization in Dust Bowl California" (James Hamilton); "WGPR-TV, 1975-1995: Rest in Peace (A History of the First Television Station Licensed to Blacks in the Continental USA)" (James Phillip Jeter); "Maternal Images in the Age of the Girl: The Work of Jessie Willcox Smith and Other Women Artists in Early-Twentieth-Century Magazine Illustration" (Carolyn L. Kitch); "'All Brides Are Not Beautiful': The Rise of Charlotte Curtis at the 'New York Times'" (Marilyn Greenwald); "A Different Story: How the Press Covered Baseball's First Integrated Spring Training" (Chris Lamb and Glen Bleske); "A 'Slanderous and Nasty-Minded Mulattress,' Ida B. Wells, Confronts 'Objectivity' in the 1890s" (David T.Z. Mindich); "The 'New Republic' and Japanese Mass Internment during World War II, 1941-1945: The Liberal Magazine's Uniqueness and Limitations" (Takeya Mizuno); "A History of St. Louis Newspapers: Context for the Birth of the 'Sun' in 1989" (James E. Mueller); "The Political Costs of Press Controls: Woodrow Wilson and Wartime Suppression" (Jeffery A. Smith); "Coxey's Army and the Argus-Eyed Demons of Hell: Sensationalism and the Symbiotic Relationship of Press and Publicity Seekers in News Coverage of the 1894 March on Washington" (Michael S. Sweeney); "Defying the Ku Klux Klan: Three 1920s Newspapers Challenge the Most Powerful Nativist Movement in American History" (Rodger Streitmatter); "The Evolution of the Party News Media Editorship in China: A Historical Study" (Kewen Zhang); and "Hybrid Journalism Epitomized: Riding the Frontier/Commercial Cusp, 1893-1894" (David J. Vergobbi). Individual papers contain references. (RS)

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A BID FOR LEGITIMACY:
THE WOMAN'S PRESS CLUB MOVEMENT, 1881-1900

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A BID FOR LEGITIMACY:
THE WOMAN'S PRESS CLUB MOVEMENT, 1881-1900

During the last fifteen years of the Nineteenth Century, women journalists across the country mobilized to claim their legitimate place within the journalism profession, establishing more than seventeen woman's press associations and clubs. This paper establishes the basic facts concerning these organizations, discusses some of the issues they addressed as well as how they were received by the male-dominated journalism community, and considers how the twentieth century definition of women journalists was formed as a result of debates conducted within these organizations. The author proposes that although the associations were founded in the cooperative and supportive spirit of the nineteenth century woman's club movement, they came in direct conflict with the emerging ideology of the Twentieth Century that encouraged and rewarded pragmatism, competition, and "productivity." The conflict between these two value systems caused a deep schism within the clubs as well as within individual women journalists that can be detected even today.

A Bid for Legitimacy: The Woman's Press Club Movement, 1881-1900

During the last fifteen years of the Nineteenth Century, women journalists across the country mobilized to claim their legitimate place within the journalism profession. Long denied respect, recognition, equal pay, and equal opportunity, more than 700 organized, joined, and participated in women's press associations in more than seventeen states. This explosion of professional and feminist activism coincided with a general upsurge in the woman's movement that culminated with the passage of the suffrage amendment in 1919, as well as a trend within the journalism community to legitimize itself through associations, codes, and professional training.[1]

Although this was an important period in the development of women journalists, journalism scholars have written little about the woman's press club movement of the 1880s. In her study of the Women's National Press Club, founded in Washington, D.C. in 1919, historian Maurine Beasley briefly mentions the earlier formation of two such organizations in that city which, by the post-World War era, had "faded from the scene."[2] In a more recent work, historian Agnes Hooper Gottlieb examines the Woman's Press Club of New York City, founded in 1889. She finds that the club helped promote journalism as a career for women, created a forum for discussion of important issues, and provided a necessary network for women journalists who were often isolated in the male-dominated profession.[3]

Other than these contributions, women's press clubs of this period have been discussed only in passing, usually only in connection with the women prominent in their leadership.[4] This oversight may be attributed in part to a tendency among woman journalism historians to focus on biographical studies or on the involvement of women journalists in particular issues such as suffrage, reproductive rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment. It may also be attributed, however, to a general paucity in archival material and organizational records from this period.[5]

This paper, therefore, has three goals. First, it shall attempt to establish the basic facts concerning the major women's press organizations founded during the period 1881-1900. Second, it shall discuss some of the issues addressed by these various organizations and how they were received by the male-dominated journalism community. Finally, it shall consider how, as a result of debates focused on eligibility to the press associations, the twentieth century definition of women journalists was formed.

Growth and Discontent

The last two decades of the century were years of great possibility for women who sought to enter the journalism field, yet it was also a period during which they faced great frustration. Between 1880 and 1890 the number of women journalists counted by the federal census increased from 288 to 888, and by 1900, their number had nearly tripled to 2,193.[6] But even though their numbers were steadily increasing, fulltime women journalists during this period represented less than seven percent of the total number of journalists counted by the census. Furthermore, these women were not only a minority within their profession, they also exercised little power within the newsroom, rarely holding editorial or decision-making positions. Finally, the few women who occupied editorial posts, as well as the majority of women reporters, were usually assigned to the women's or society pages where they were restricted to providing advice on "women's issues" such as fashion, food, and family.

When women journalists attempted to escape these confines, they were often greeted with ridicule and hostility by their male colleagues. Here is how one contemporary described the lot of women seeking to enter the profession prior to the early 1880s:

> Young ladies who dared to lift their heads in the sea of journalism immediately became the targets for the envenomed shafts of small men. Their abilities were questioned, their intentions suspected, their reputations bandied from sneering lip to careless tongue, and on every hand they were met with discouragements, until the waves of disappointment and all the billows of despair rolled over them.[7]

Some women journalists attempted to describe this situation in a humorous fashion, describing in a literal sense the obstacles they had to overcome before gaining access to an editor, a story, and some form of recognition. According to Texas journalist Belle Hunt, who described the chances of a literary woman in New

York as slim, "[T]he publishers expect a woman, when she is repulsed at the front door, to go to the back, and when that is closed in her face she must climb in the window, when she will find a hearty welcome and a few bank notes as a reward for her perseverance." But despite the dry humor, the sense of frustration was there, all the same.[8]

Women reporters were further limited in gaining power and recognition within their profession by both custom and law. They were typically restricted from regions designated as "male" -- such as the Capital press galleries or the saloons where voting and electioneering took place -- and thus had little access to the political stories that made the news section.[9] Well-meaning paternalistic editors who wished to shield them from danger banned them from covering stories on violence or crime, or working late at night when such events might occur, once again precluding their chance at front-page stories.[10] And beyond the newsroom, press clubs, which began to form after the Civil War, banned women from membership on the grounds that a place where men smoked, drank, and gambled was no place for a lady.[11] Although the press clubs were largely social clubs, they did serve as a meeting place where professional issues were discussed, where contacts were made, and where often significant decisions were made. To ban women from the journalism clubs was, in effect, to restrict their ability to socialize and network within their own professional community.[12]

Mobilization

Although it may be doubtful that women of the 1860s and '70s were ready to avail themselves of such opportunities for networking within the male journalism clubs, at least one female journalist protested against her exclusion and took a practical step to right the inequity. When journalist Jane Cunningham Croly ("Jenny June") was excluded from an important dinner of the New York Press Club in 1868, she founded Sorosis, one of the nation's earliest woman's clubs.[13] Sorosis and other women's clubs organized shortly after inspired a national club movement of middle-class women devoted to literary and cultural self-improvement who met regularly to discuss literature, art, education, and issues concerning women's self-improvement. Typically made up of middle-class ladies, these organizations often included writers, educators, ministers, and other early female professionals as well as leaders within the feminist, reform, and benevolent communities who found the clubs an ideal venue to examine and debate some of the most controversial issues of the times.[14]

But it was not until the 1880s that women journalists began to see the need for clubs devoted specifically to their interests. The first to organize was a group of "lady correspondents" in Washington, D.C. who, out of "Necessity and Ambition" formed the "Ladies' Press Club" in 1881 with Emily Edson Briggs ("Olivia" of the *Philadelphia Press*) as their first president.[15] Professionally isolated and well aware of the male camaraderie that dominated the newspaper business, their purpose in organizing was to create a source of "mutual help and encouragement" for the female correspondents working in the nation's capital, especially for the "coming generation" of women journalist. One of Briggs's first actions as president was to call for recognition for women reporters in the Capital press gallery. She achieved limited success, winning them a place adjoining the male reporters, separated only by a wire screen and a locked door, but the accomplishment served as an important morale booster. Despite this activity, the Ladies' Press Club did little to expand its influence or publicize its presence, and, in fact, received only passing notice in one of the Washington dailies at the time of its organization.[16]

The task of mobilizing women journalists on a national scale was taken up four years later, in May of 1885, by a group of prominent women journalists meeting in New Orleans under the leadership of Marion A. McBride of the *Boston Post*. With a slate of officers that included Eliza Nicholson, publisher of the *New Orleans Picayune*, and Florence M. Adkinson of the *Indianapolis Sentinel*, the group created the Woman's National Press Association, which was to serve as an umbrella organization for the state and city associations its founders hoped would follow.[17] Their view of the organization as a networking tool for women journalists was clear in their platform:

> The object of this organization is to provide a medium of communication between journalists of the country and to secure all the benefits that will result from organized effort. Such information as is continually needed by writers will always be rendered available, and new avenues will be opened to individuals for journalistic work. Innumerable benefits will arise

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> from mutual help and encouragement. One aim of the association is to forward the interests of working women in every possible way by combined action of newspaper women.[18]

The home states of the founding members attested to the national character they hoped the association would attain. While McBride, Nicholson, and Adkinson represented Massachusetts, Louisiana, and Indiana respectively, vice president Mrs. L. M. Parz of the *St. Louis Republican* hailed from Missouri and vice president Mary McMullen of the *Anglo-American Times* was based in London. Honorary members were Mary A. Livermore, of Boston, and Mrs. Frank Leslie, of New York.[19] Each returned to her home state with the hope of establishing a local chapter and within nine months, state and city organizations had sprung up in St. Louis, Chicago, Boston, New Orleans, and San Francisco. By February of the following year, the association claimed about 300 members and had broadened its platform to include the goal of its members to "assist more widely all industrial work relating to art, science, and the industrial pursuits of women."[20]

One of the most prominent regional associations to form in the wake of the New Orleans meeting was the Illinois Woman's Press Association, founded in Chicago in June of 1885 with Mary Allen West, editor of the WCTU's *Union Signal*, as its president.[21] West had met McBride at the New Orleans Exposition in 1885 and returned to Chicago with the idea of organizing a branch to the national association. The response among women writers was so great, however, that in January 1886, the Illinois group was reorganized as an independent society and by 1887 claimed nearly 100 members. Although its regular membership stayed around that number, by 1891 attendance at its annual conventions had grown to nearly 300.[22]

McBride next influenced women in her own region to organize, and in November 1885, five prominent Boston women journalists met with her to create the New England Woman's Press Association. The group chose pioneer Boston journalist Sallie Joy White of the *Boston Herald* as president and Estelle M. Hatch ("Jean Kincaid" of the *Boston Daily Globe*) as secretary. Over the next thirteen months Hatch contacted as many of the women journalists in the New England region as possible, urging them to join the fledgling organization. Many were attracted by the association's platform, which announced that while its primary purpose was to promote the interests of women writers, it was also determined to "forward, by concerted action through the press, such good objects on social, philanthropic, and reformatory lines as may from time to time present themselves."[23] Women writers from Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and Nova Scotia, many of them already active in other women's organizations, quickly joined and by 1894 the association claimed nearly 100 members.[24] After meeting in the offices of the *Woman's Journal* during its early years, the association secured permanent headquarters in the Bellevue Hotel on Beacon Street in 1888. By the end of the century it claimed 134 active members.[25]

During the five years following the organization of the Woman's National Press Association in New Orleans, several other woman's press associations sprang up across the country, including the Woman's Press Association of Ohio in 1886 and the Woman's Press Association of the South in 1887. The activities of these organizations and those that pre-dated them gained publicity both through the local press and the pages of the *Journalist*, the major national trade publication of the period.[26] Also, as women took on leadership roles within their press associations, they began to appear as spokeswomen and representatives of women journalists before the larger professional community. Some organizations, such as the National Editorial Association, founded in 1885, and the New England Suburban Press Association had begun to enroll both men and women as members, and, ironically, it was often at these meetings that other women journalists had their first exposure to women's press associations. In 1890, for example, Allie E. Whitaker, vice president of the New England Woman's Press Association, spoke on the role of "the fair sex" in journalism at the annual meeting of the New England Suburban Press Association, which was attended by several female editors.[27] In the same year, the women's press associations were amply represented by delegates at the annual convention of the National Editorial Association held in Boston.[28]

By 1889, a watershed had apparently been reached and in the following year women writers organized in rural states as well as major cities, inland as well as on both coasts. Associations representing women journalists and writers formed in Georgia, Kansas, Michigan, California, Washington, Oregon, and New York; by the middle of the decade, these new associations boasted a total membership of more than 300.[29] On the national level, two additional groups formed with the idea of uniting individual women journalists and individual state associations, respectively. The Press League, with the goal of establishing "cooperation among women who earn their living writing for the press," was founded in Chicago with Antoinette Van Hoesen Wakeman of the *Chicago Evening Post* as its first president.[30] The National Federation of Women's Press Clubs was founded in 1891 in Boston, with Sallie Joy White as its first president. The purpose of the second association was to bring together the nation's various woman's press clubs, and at its first convention representatives from six associations attended.[31]

By the end of the century, even more women's press associations were active and growing in Alabama, Colorado, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Although membership numbers were constantly fluctuating as women died or moved to other regions of the country, it appears that at least 700 women writers belonged to woman's press associations by the turn of the century.[32] By that time, they had also extended their influence to include cooperation and affiliation with many predominately male press organizations, including the National Editorial Association (founded in 1885) and the International League of Press Clubs (founded in 1890) as well as a dozen state and city press organizations.[33]

Goals and Issues of Debate

The major goal of these associations, clearly stated in their charters, was to assist women writers. When asked in 1892 what women's press clubs and associations, specifically the Illinois Woman's Press Association, accomplished, *Journalist* columnist Margherita Arlina Hamm responded enthusiastically:

> Do! Why they hunt up every discouraged newspaperwoman within reach of them, give her the secret of how to get a corner on saleable news, and in fact set her on her feet. God Bless Them![34]

In keeping with this goal, the programs of their meetings and conventions were filled with speeches and addresses with such titles as: "Women in Journalism," "The Ethics of Our Profession," "In What Line of Newspaper Work are

Women Most Fitted to Constitutionally Excel," "What are the Common Faults of Correspondence," "What the Man-Editor Thinks the Woman Wants to Read," and "How Many Departments Can a Woman Successfully Edit Each Week?"[35] Sometimes the topics were quite elementary, as was the case in 1886, when Mrs. Harbert of the Illinois Woman's Press Association, gave advice on preparing a manuscript for the press, with basic directions to beginners such as: "do not gush" and "sign your name."[36] At other times, the topics were more general, such as whether there should be equal wages for men and women, or discussion of the lives of prominent women in history.[37]

One topic of particular interest to the woman's press associations was the establishment of classes, programs, and schools of journalism for women. In 1886, Mrs. M. L. Rayne, later a charter member of the Michigan Woman's Press Association, established a school of journalism for women in Detroit where students were given lessons on topics such as "How to Report," "Brevity," and "Scoops."[38] In 1889 three women established the American Women's College of Practical Arts in Chicago, where they taught, among other things, courses in journalism.[39] In 1896 the New Rutgers Institute for Young Ladies in New York City offered a course in journalism taught by none other than Jane Cunningham Croly, the founder of the Woman's Press Club of New York.[40] And in 1899 a course in journalism was introduced to the women at Mt. Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts, in which students were trained in the art of reporting by covering imaginary events and taught the fine points of preparing manuscripts for publication.[41]

Debate among women journalists over the usefulness of such programs often reflected the debate within the general journalism community -- were journalists "born" or were they "made?" Lavinia S. Goodwin of the Woman's National Press Association and an editor of the *Journal of Education*, for example, argued that although "there must be a seed for development... doubtless this development will be more symmetrical, speedy and complete under proper tuition than when one is obliged to absorb the technique of her trade little by little through practice."[42] Kate Masterson, of the *New York Herald*, on the other hand, argued that practical experience and common sense served a girl seeking work in journalism far more than a college degree and advised that a true "stepping stone" for the writing woman was a position as proofreader on a weekly paper.[43]

Another particularly sensitive topic of debate, which frequently led to dissent and even schism during the early years of organization, was that of *who* was eligible to join women's press associations and clubs. Although all the associations discussed here used the term "press" in their titles, most did not limit their membership to working journalists but also welcomed women associated with the literary profession as writers of articles or books.[44] The Illinois Woman's Press Association, for example, included "authors, editors, poets, contributors, correspondents, reporters, and publishers."[45] The Ladies Press Club of Washington, D.C. offered membership to all women engaged in literary work -- lady journalists, correspondents, reporters, magazine contributors, book and story writers -- but foresaw the time when there would be enough "new-gathering women" to have a separate organization for them. Although members in the Washington club did not have to be either fulltime writers or employees of newspapers, the club had an unwritten rule that none of its members should write contributions for newspapers except for pay.[46]

In other cases, however, there was considerable debate over whether membership should be limited to women actively engaged in newspaper work. The Michigan Woman's Press Association, for example, initially limited eligibility to "women in the state who were professionally connected with any paper in the state."[47] Pressure to increase the membership, however, resulted in a revision of the constitution two years later which expanded membership to include "any woman resident of Michigan who is regularly connected in a literary way with any reputable newspaper or magazine, or *who is engaged in literary work for publication* [italics added]." The adoption of this revision caused the association to split, with the result that members of the Grand Rapids papers and the *Detroit Free Press* established an organization of their own, the Michigan Woman's Press Club, which was restricted to women "connected with newspapers."[48] In other cases, associations restricted membership to women who earned money with their writing. Thus, the Denver Women's Press Club, founded in 1898, limited active membership to those who had "earned money by their pens" and the Georgia Woman's Press Association restricted membership even further to "women engaged in active journalism and *who are self-supporting in their work* [italics added]."[49]

Women's press associations, however, did not simply focus on issues concerning their own professional identity and advancement. They often expanded their purview to include social and economic reform affecting women workers as well as broader charitable activities, issues well within the parameters of the woman's club movement. One of the early goals of the Illinois Woman's Press Association, for example, was to provide a cheap lodging house for working women and in 1886 the association announced a campaign to raise $1,500 to fund the project.[50] The New England Woman's Press Association expanded its activities to include charity and benevolence and in 1893 formed a benefit society called Samaritana. In 1894, the association sponsored an author's reading in the Hollis Street Theater for the benefit of the unemployed and later in that year distributed $900 among a number of local charitable institutions. By 1898 it had established a journalists' fund to assist "distressed newspaper people in need of assistance" whether they were members of the association or not.[51] In 1898, during the Spanish-American War, the Missouri Woman's Press Association sponsored a project to provide a library and reading room for the soldiers stationed at the Jefferson, Missouri, barracks.[52]

Some associations wandered even farther afield in the topics they discussed and promoted, a trend which reflected the increasing interest and participation of women in the world at large. The Pacific Coast Woman's Press Association, founded in 1890 and representing women writers from California, Washington, Oregon, and Nevada, took it upon itself to promote immigration and development in states on the western coast and in 1891 became affiliated with the American Economic Association and various boards of commerce to assist in this goal.[53] After the General Federation of Women's Clubs called on members to support a peace movement in 1896, several associations, including the New York Woman's

Press Club, put the topic on their agenda for discussion.[54] As the threat of war with Spain loomed in 1898, other associations took up the topic, "Should the United States Go to War?" And in 1899 the New York Woman's Press Club asked the all-encompassing question, "What has America Done for the Nineteenth Century?"[55]

Most of the woman's press associations joined the General Federation of Women's Clubs (formed in 1890), which served as the largest umbrella organization of them all and soon become involved in controversial issues espoused (though not always endorsed) by the Federation such as temperance, women's rights, suffrage, and reform. While many of the members of the Federation were middle-class, white, well-off, and fundamentally conservative, the general tenor of the Federation was progressive. Leaders of these reforms were often among the founding members of women's press associations, including temperance leader Frances E. Willard of the Illinois association, suffrage leader Alice Stone Blackwell of the New England association, and feminist Charlotte Perkins Stetson (later Gilman) of the Pacific Coast association.[56] This created conflict in some cases of more conservative organizations, creating schisms and dissention and the sense that the sisterhood was not entirely united. In 1895, for example, the Georgia Woman's Press Club withdrew from the Federation because it had admitted to membership three negro women's press clubs.[57]

Impact

It can safely be said that the establishment of women's press associations and clubs had a significant impact on the journalism community. First, because the associations provided evidence of the numbers of women who identified themselves with the journalism profession, numbers that were often masked in census counts and company records by the fact that so many were working part-time as contributors and columnists.[58] And second, because women in the associations were able to provide a united front. If nothing else, male journalists had to take their female counterparts seriously.[59]

This had mixed results. Women's press associations and clubs were at first greeted by some within the established journalism community with enthusiasm, or, at the very least, neutrality. In the early years, for example, *Journalist* publisher Allan Forman welcomed the associations as a sign of progress, both for women and for the journalism profession:

> A few years ago the college man was sneered and flouted at by the journalistic veterans, and the reporter who wore a clean collar and washed his hands was regarded with scorn and contempt.... Now the dirty shirt brigade is exercised over the growing power of women in journalism, They are afraid of her competition because she is honest, capable, faithful, industrious and doesn't get drunk. They realize they can't stand against the competition. But these men will die of delirium tremens and be buried by the Press Club, and we will breath a sigh of relief when they are well under the sod. They will be remembered for the debts they have made. But women will keep on doing journalistic work, just as the college men did, and we will forget about the whiskey-scented grumbling of the veterans. The growth of the Women's Press Club [of New York] is evidence of the trend affairs are taking, and the fair and square men in journalism are glad to welcome women into the profession.[60]

Others, instead, saw women's press associations as a sort of training ground where women aspiring to work for newspapers would learn the basics of news writing as well as appropriate professional behavior. The editor of the *Somerville* (Massachusetts) *Journal*, for example, welcomed the establishment of a press bureau by the New England association, which he hoped would provide an efficient way of directing the increasing number of women journalists to appropriate kinds of newspaper work and preventing them from "trying to force themselves into work for which they are especially unfitted."[61]

But as the number and membership numbers of the women's press associations increased and more women began to enter the field, some male journalists reacted with alarm and hostility. One way to discount the validity of the associations (as well as their members) became to describe them as havens for self-proclaimed women journalists who were no more than amateur dabblers. A frequent criticism, therefore, was that women's press clubs and associations rarely represented active journalists. Thus a regular contributor to the *Journalist*, writing under the penname "Pen Dennis, Jr.," pointed out somewhat inaccurately in 1894 that only three or four names on the New York Woman's Press Club roster had the "ghost of a connection with the press." and that the rest of the names were "unknown in the big newspaper offices of the town."[62] In the same vein, no less a prestigious publication than the *New York Times* stooped to comment in 1898 that the New York club was a "hybrid organization, counting among its members all sorts and conditions of women, with the exception of newspaper women." Here an unexpected champion emerged in Ernest Birmingham's *Fourth Estate*, which brought the *Times* neatly to task for not only being "ill-bred and lacking in gallantry," but, worst of all, for being inaccurate. The *Times* should go back and check the records, Birmingham advised. It should also consider the value of the club:

> There is not a multitude of women employed on the New York papers, though there are many industrious newspaper women who, working hard, earn what they receive. That they should have formed a club, including in it women not regularly employed, but contributing to the columns of the press, whose copy is put into type and other women affiliated with the press through a sympathetic sisterhood and willingness to help them, is in no sense to the discredit of the New York Woman's Press Club, but rather an evidence of feminine good sense.[63]

Another frequent criticism was that when women's press associations and clubs met, they often dealt with impractical or esoteric topics. In 1891, shortly after the formation of the Pacific Coast Woman's Press Association, a San Francisco newspaper ran a particularly condescending story on an association meeting under the headline "The Blue-Stockings Listen in Silent Awe to a Real Newspaper Woman." The association, the story reported, had presented "impractical" papers "full of sage and erudite information, and weighty abstruse and abstract advice as to the reformation of the world." As one member of the association pointed out, however, the newspaper article failed to report that the meeting was attended by many working women journalists (far from "blue-stockings") and to put into context the prestige of the principal speaker, none other than Boston journalist Sallie Joy White.[64]

Criticisms became harsher toward the end of the decade, and comments on the New England Woman's Press Association and the New York Woman's Press Club were particularly snide. One tendency was to belittle the women's clubs on the grounds that all members did at their meetings was socialize and gossip. Thus, "Adoniram Meek," the acerbic Boston columnist for the *Journalist*, wrote of the New England Woman's Press Association's participation in a national convention in 1898:

> Oh, I tell you, but them wimmen folks is having great times in Denver! May Alden Ward, Helen M. Winslow... and all the rest of the Eastern lady writers who sold enough copy for two first-class fares are there. They won't come back either until they've just talked Denver to death and I don't blame 'em."[65]

When women's press associations met, not only did they waste time on gossip, according to critics, they also engaged in typical petty squabbles of the type most frequently attributed to women. Thus, when one member of the New England association scooped another (over a society wedding), the rivals reportedly fell into "the ways of the typical hen." They "cackled and scratched, and 'How could she!' and 'The horrid thing!' and 'I never did like her!' rent the sweaty air."[66]

And when women attended mixed-sex press conventions, according to critics, they did so simply as a form of entertainment. Following the annual convention of the International League of Press Clubs in Philadelphia in 1898, Allan Forman of the *Journalist* ridiculed the convention as a purely social event which gave an annual opportunity to "a number of estimable old ladies and young and old gentlemen to enjoy a week's junket at reduced prices." Forman opposed the idea of removing the (male) New York Press Club from the League, however, on the grounds that the League was innocuous enough and should be allowed to persist if it "amuses the old ladies in trousers and skirts who attend its conventions."[67] In the following week, "Asmodeus," the *Journalists'* columnist from Philadelphia, disagreed with Forman's criticism of the League as being a purely social organization, but agreed in protesting against the "participation in any newspaper convention of women whose sole claim to recognition consists of the fact of their being present."[68] This was quite inaccurate, for many of the women attending the convention as delegates were affiliated with newspapers.[69]

Conclusions

By the turn of the century, women had become a very visible part of American public life. They had mobilized across the nation in clubs and associations that demanded reforms in women's rights, suffrage, temperance, and the workplace. Universities had begun to admit women as students and they were slowly making their way into some of the male-dominated professions such as the ministry, the law, and medicine.

It was inevitable that journalism would get swept up in the woman's movement. By 1900 women's press associations, which claimed more than 700 members across the nation, were established in at least seventeen states and their representatives were participating in national conventions of mixed-sex professional organizations such as the National Editorial Association and the International League of Press Clubs. The 1900 U.S. census counted 2,193 women journalists, and for every one who was counted, three or four others worked as part time contributors and columnists.

Debate over the composition and role of woman's press clubs and associations took place within both the associations and the larger journalism community and reflected many of the issues with which these groups were wrestling.

This was an important period for women, many of whom were consciously trying to define their roles both as individuals and as members of communities within a changing society. Reforms that were breaking down some of the rigid barriers that had defined their place in the world and restricted their behavior for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were also forcing them to redefine themselves and create new rules to live and work by. Middle-class women, who had long been forced to rely for their future prospects on the good fortune of being born with a respectable dowry or good looks, were now being told they could no longer rely on "looks or manners" but must "qualify themselves for the work of supporting their husbands" by training and education.[70]

The journalism community was also undergoing rapid changes with the introduction of new technologies and the development of mass circulation newspapers and magazines during the last two decades of the century. Harsh criticism of journalistic practices was either forcing or inspiring leaders within the industry to redesign journalism as a profession with rules, codes, and a sense of ethics.[71] The old school of the "dirty-shirt brigade," as described by Forman, was slowly being replaced by a new generation of bright, efficient, well-trained, and even well-educated journalists.

It was at this time that women journalists stepped into the smoke-filled and ash-strewn newsrooms in increasing numbers, tripping over their Victorian skirts and finding no clean place to sit down. They wanted to claim their rights as human beings as well as recognition as professional workers. They knew they could do the work and they frequently did it, but proving it and getting recognition for it was quite another thing. "The 'new woman' in the newspaper office! Even you, Eve, have no conception of that slow torture," wrote "Pauline Pry" in 1890. "I howled twice in two years at the last place, and when I left the man said he never wanted another d----d woman around.... I'm under oath to myself henceforth to be less woman and more damned, in a constantly increasing ratio toward perfect abstraction of the woman."[72]

Although Pry could see the humor in her predicament, others did not. Given the changes that were occurring in society's expectations toward women, there should be no surprise that there was confusion over how they should behave or that, in many cases, they'd be damned, regardless of whether they did or didn't perform in a particular way. "Woman is not of the slightest practical use in newspaper work outside certain limits," a newspaper man told Margherita Arlina Hamm, columnist for the *Journalist*, in 1892. "By her mental equipment and physical constitution she is forever debarred from handling the class of work successfully undertaken by the average male reporter." Hamm, who was later to become a war correspondent in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, attempted to point out that women like Nellie Bly and Nell Nelson had succeeded in covering both crime and disaster, but her arguments were dismissed.[73]

Male editors, as well as many women within the profession, were still obsessed by the notion of women being distinctly different from men in both their character and capabilities. When, in 1895, the *New York Recorder* addressed the question "What Shall Our Women Do for a Living?" it had the following advice to women thinking of going into journalism: "Don't! Do anything else. If you're married, get divorced; if you're single, get married. Get reckless and elevate the stage, raise chickens, renovate feather beds, anything so you don't try to break into a newspaper office." The writer went on to itemize the various ways in which newspaper work was particularly unsuited to women, admitting only reluctantly that a few good women journalists who were prepared to persevere might eventually succeed.[74]

Another typical criticism of women journalists that captured this sense of confusion over what women should be and how they should behave linked their professional performance with the growing demand for women's rights:

> Too many women journalists, feeling that they are doing man's work, want, not Women's Rights, but men's rights.... [W]hile they are jealous of their title to rank with their male fellow-workers, they are equally tenacious of their women's rights -- that courtesy and chivalrous treatment which is their due because they are women... For this stamp of women, and their name is legion, there is no room in journalism.... Experience has proven that women can be successful in newspaper work and be none the less womanly. Yet there have been but few, very

> few, instances when a woman has been able to throw off her womanhood and become "one of the boys," and retain either her own self-respect or the esteem of those with whom she is associated.[75]

The situation was further exasperated by the sheer number -- or rather the *perception* of the number -- of women entering or seeking to enter journalism. The perception of this number was often encouraged by women journalists themselves, who believed, no doubt, that numbers signified progress. "You can form no idea until you have looked into the subject, of the army of newspaper women that exist in this country," declared Margaret Hamilton Welch, editor of Harper's Bazaar, at a meeting of the Brooklyn Congregational Club in 1899.[76]

While this information might gladden the hearts of women listeners, it would more likely alarm men, especially male journalists, provoking the status anxiety typical of middle-class males at the turn of the century. For although there should have been plenty of room for male and female journalists alike in the rapidly expanding newspaper and magazine industry, a shortage of jobs in newspaper work developed during the second half of the 1890s. And it was women, more often than men, who were discouraged from entering the crowded field of competition.

"[T]here are too many trying this particular field," the *New York Recorder* warned women in 1895. "It is just at present very hard to get -- and almost equally hard to stay -- in, unless one is unusually adapted."[77] The crisis continued, and in the following year *Fourth Estate* cited a local publication that had advertised a position for an "all-around newspaper man" and had received more than thirty-five qualified responses from all parts of the country, despite the fact that the requirements had been high and the pay low. "There are entirely too many good newspaper men at leisure and anxious to get to work," the trade journal concluded. And in 1898, with the beginning of the Spanish-American war and the tendency of newspapers to devote significant space to the war, news writers, especially space writers, who had remained behind found little work to do, tightening up the amount of work available from day to day even more.[78]

Of equal importance to this question of *whether* women should become journalists (a somewhat obsolete question, since so many women had, in fact, proven that they could become journalists) was the question of *how they should be defined once they became journalists.* It is significant that this question arose at this particular time, a period during which intellectuals were attempting to rationalize and categorize much of the world in as "scientific" a way as possible. The debate over whether women's press clubs and associations should be restricted to working journalists, therefore, can be considered significant on several levels.

First, it reflected the growing tendency in American thought to categorize people according to the nature of their work. Although the woman's club movement tended to embrace all women, encourage their development, and promote a sense of supportive sisterhood, by the mid-1880s, the trend toward "professionalization" had created a division among women writers. "Career women" -- those who worked full time and dedicated their lives to a wage-earning job and forwarding a career -- were defined as productive members of society and were rewarded accordingly with recognition, positions of (comparative) influence, and financial renumeration. Women writers of this category became increasingly referred to as journalists, especially when their work was non-fiction. "Literary ladies" -- often defined as those who dabbled in writing for entertainment and pleasure -- were instead devalued, defined almost as expendable within the journalism community.

This dichotomy reflected a larger trend within intellectual thought -- the respect for the fact, for the pragmatic, "objective," and scientific approach to knowledge, that came in the early Twentieth Century to be equated with professional journalism -- and the respective devaluation of "instinctive," emotional, or "creative" work.[79]

Second, it created a schism within even the individual woman journalist. Where she had long been praised for her ability to understand and empathize with human emotions and to have a natural inclination toward writing about issues of the home and the heart, these topics were no longer of value in the pragmatic world of the Twentieth Century. If she accepted those characteristics within herself, she would be condemning herself to a decidedly limited future on the women's pages as a "lady journalist." If she rejected those characteristics and attempted to become "one of the boys," she would be denying a part of herself, and would undoubtedly face even more resistance from her male counterparts.

The women's press associations founded between 1881 and 1900 provided a supportive community in which women writers, literary ladies, and female journalists could create a sense of pride and identity. The associations created an ambiance in which these women could explore and develop opportunities to practice their craft and, in some cases, earn their living by it. These associations were very much a part of the woman's movement, which valued nurturance and cooperation, and were distinguished by the mentoring roles played by their more experience members toward initiates.

This was also a period, however, in which the dominant intellectual ideology came to encourage and reward pragmatism, competition, and "productivity." The goals of the women's press associations, in a sense, were in direct conflict with this ideology.

Several of the associations discussed here gave in to the dominant ideology, restricting their membership to women who held regular paying jobs at newspapers and magazines and thus effectively separating them from their sisters. This author suggests that this schism within the community of women writers not only set the definition of women journalists for the next century, but insured that the conflicts described above would be perpetuated as long as that definition prevailed.

By 1900, the term "literary ladies" had become one of derision, and the names of many of these admirable women disappeared into the haze of history. As for the women journalists who chose the career track, defining themselves as "professionals" wasn't enough; women journalists would continue to be pigeonholed as "sob sisters," "gossip columnists," society, women's page, and "lifestyle" writers, fashion writers and feature writers. Further study of women's press organizations after 1900 should reveal how the associations and their members responded to this continual devaluation of their work.

Notes

1.For discussion of the woman's club movement, see: Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980) and Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1975), 182-96. For an extensive discussion of the professionalization of journalism during this period, see: Marion Tuttle Marzolf, *Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1950* (NY: Longman, 1991), 7-33.

2.Maurine Beasley, "The Women's National Press Club: Case Study of Professional Aspirations," in Jean Folkerts, ed. *Media Voices: An Historical Perspective* (NY: Macmillan, 1992), 263-64. (Reprint of an article of the same title that appeared in *Journalism History* 15:4 (Winter 1988). The nineteenth century organizations discussed by Beasley are the Woman's National Press Association, started in 1882, and the League of American Pen Women, founded in 1897. The first of these shall be discussed below.

3.Agnes Hooper Gottlieb, "Networking in the Nineteenth Century: Founding of the Woman's Press Club of New York City," *Journalism History* 21:4 (Winter 1995): 156-63.

4. See, for example, Barbara Belford's brief mention of the NY Women's Press Club in "Jane Cunningham Croly 'Jennie June,'" chap. in *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), 44. Also Ishbel Ross's reference to the New England Woman's Press Association in "Front-Page Girl," chap. in *Ladies of the Press*, cited in Maurine Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993), 133. Eliza Nicholson's role in establishing the Woman's National Press Association in 1885 and Sallie Joy White's role in the New England Woman's Press Association are cited in Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnotes* (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1977), 19, 20.

5.The extensive records of the Women's Press Club of New York City at the Butler Library at Columbia University is an exception, rather than the rule. Of the seventeen women's press clubs discussed here, the author has been able to identify records or manuscript collections pertinent to the period of this study for just two -- the Michigan Woman's Press Association, and the Woman's Press Club of Cincinnati, Ohio -- although an attempt is being made to trace records through the name of press association officers. The primary source material for this paper, therefore, is the various articles published by these organizations between 1884 and 1900 in *The Journalist* and *The Fourth Estate*, the leading trade publications of the period. (The *Journalist* began publication in 1884, the *Fourth Estate* in 1894.) While limited in their scope, these "self-reports" chronicle the development of the various organizations and indicate some of the issues they were facing. They also indicate some of the responses of the general journalism community to these associations as well as to other issues concerning women journalists. The author would like to thank John Dlugosz and Lorraine Lester, master degree candidates at the University of Hartford, for assisting her in collecting and categorizing this material.

6.Beasley and Gibbons, 10; Gottlieb, 17. These numbers represented only a fraction of the women actually doing work for newspapers and magazines, for many worked as part-time correspondents, contributors, and "freelances," submitting "piece work" to several publications at a time or moving from paper to paper to fill brief vacancies. Lucile Lovell, of Taunton, Mass., for example, reported that between 1886 and 1889 she had worked for more than eight newspapers: the

Boston Post; the *Boston Daily Globe*; the *Boston Herald*, the *Bristol Country Republican*; the *New York Herald*; the *New York Telegram*, and "other New York papers." *Journalist*, 26 January 1889, pp. 10-11, col. 1, 3.

7. S.D. Fry, "Newspaper Women," *Journalist*, 19 November 1892, p. 10, col. 3.

8."All Over Texas," *Journalist*, 29 November 1890, p. 3, col. 3.

9.An 1879 ruling stated that only the main representatives of newspapers (not columnists or correspondents) could be accredited to enter the Capital press galleries. Since few women could claim the distinction of being the main representative of any newspaper, they were thus effectively barred from covering Congressional debate and legislation. Beasley and Gibbons, 9.

10.See, for example, Alan Forman's editorial in the *Journalist*, which, intended as a critique of the *New York World*, announced that "Self-respecting city editors do not put ladies on police, fire or accident assignments or hold them on 'emergency' until the early morning hours." ("Remarks," *Journalist*, October, 1890, p. 6, col. 3.)

11. In 1891, California journalist Maude S. Peaselee quoted a Boston Press Club decision that "women might do as good work as men in newspaper offices, but *were out of place in an ordinary men's club* [italics added by Peaselee]." (Maude S. Peaselee, "Here's Hopin'," *Journalist*, 31, January 1891, p. 12, col. 1.)

12.There were a few exceptions to this rule. Jane Cunningham Croly ("Jenny June") may have been a member of the New York Press Club during the 1860s; Anna Ballard was a member of the same club ("the only lady member") in 1886. (Beasley and Gibbons, 10; *Journalist*, 6 February 1886, p. 1, col. 1.)

13.Beasley and Gibbons, 10; Gottlieb, 156; Henry Ladd Smith, "The Beauteous Jennie June: Pioneer Woman Journalist," *Journalism Quarterly* (Spring 1963): 169, 172-174. The dinner was in honor of Charles Dickens; Croly was excluded, although, according to Beasley and Gibbons, she was apparently a member of the club.

14.Flexner, 182-96. Typical controversial issues of discussion were temperance, women's education, women's property rights, suffrage, divorce, the "white slave trade," and child and female labor protection. Members also read papers on authors, literary and religious topics, and philosophy.

15.S.D. Fry, "Newspaper Women," *Journalist*, p. 10, col. 3, p. 11, col. 1-2. Other founders were Mary Clemmer, correspondent for the *Independent*, Martha D. Lincoln, and Rose P. Breandle, who wrote under the penname "Pips."

16.Fry, p. 10, col. 3. The club later changed its name to the Woman's National Press Association, not to be confused with the truly national Woman's National Press Association discussed below. To avoid confusion, this author will continue to use the name, the Ladies' Press Club, in reference to the group founded by Briggs. (Marion McBride, "Report to the 1890 Convention of the National Editorial Association," *Journalist*, 5 July 1890, p. 12, col. 2.)

17.Because of the confusion caused by the similarity of names between this and the group earlier organized in Washington, D.C., the organization's name was changed to the International Woman's Press Association in 1888. (McBride, "Report," *Journalist*, 5 July 1890, p. 12, col. 3.)

18.McBride, "Report," *Journalist*, 5 July 1890, p. 12, col. 2.

19.Whenever possible, the author will use the christian name of the women cited in this paper. Because it was the frequent custom during this period for married women to use their husband's name or initials, however, this will not always be possible.

20.*Journalist*, 6 February 1886, p. 4, col. 3

21.McBride, "Report," *Journalist*, 5 July 1890, p. 12, col. 3.

22.Annie E. Myers, "Illinois Woman's Press Club," *Journalist*, 15 October 1887, p. 6, col. 1-2; "The Illinois Woman's Press Association," *Fourth Estate*, 23 May 1895, p. 3, col. 1; Carry May Ashton, "The Illinois Women's Press Association," *Journalist*, 24 January 1891, p. 12, col. 1-2.

23.Jean Kincaid, "New England Woman's Press Association," *Journalist*, 26 January 1889, p. 7, col. 1-3.

24.*Journalist*, 1885-94, passim.

25.*Journalist*, 13 October 1888, p. 4, col.2; *Fourth Estate*, 10 December 1898, p. 5, col. 3-4.

26.The *Journalist* published columns submitted by the organizers of the associations as well as news about them in columns from regional contributors. It also frequently discussed the merits of press associations, occasionally questioning the value of groups -- both male and female -- whose purpose appeared to be purely social. This will be discussed below.

27."Boston," *Journalist*, 19 April 1890, p. 6, col. 1.

28.*Journalist*, 7 June 1890, p. 4, col. 3. Associations to send delegates to the 1890 convention included the woman's press associations of New England, Illinois, and the Pacific Coast. The first woman's press association to become an auxiliary to the National Editorial Association was the Illinois Woman's Press Association. (McBride," Report," *Journalist*, 5 Jul 1890, p. 12, col. 3.)

29.*Journalist*, 1890-95, passim.

30.Meta Wellers, "The Press League," *Journalist*, 26 November 2892, p. 14, col. 2. This group split into two separate organizations in 1895 -- the Chicago Women's Press Club and the Chicago Press League -- after six of the founders were blackballed. The dispute apparently arose over a difference of opinion on who should belong to the organization, writers for daily and weekly papers, or all women who wrote, whether as correspondents or otherwise. ("Who are Newspaper Women?" *Fourth Estate*, 4 April 1895, p. 7, col. 1; "With the Clubs and Associations," *Fourth Estate*, 9 May 1895, p. 8, col. 3.)

31."Boston," *Journalist*, 14 November, p. 7, col. 3.

32.*Journalist*, 1884-1900, passim; *Fourth Estate*, 1894-1900, passim.

33.In 1886, Anna Ballard was an exception as the "only lady member" of the all-male New York Press Club, but female members and even officers of all-male or male-dominated clubs and associations exited in the 1890s, even if they were often the "only" women members. Some of the press clubs and associations to list women as members and even officers were: the North Central Kansas Editorial Association, the Toledo (Ohio) Press Club; the Pennsylvania State Editorial Association; the St. Paul Press Club; the Northwest Missouri Press Association;

the Arkansas Press Association; the Oregon Press Club; the East Texas Press Association; the North Central Kansas Editorial Association; the Kansas City (Missouri) Press Club; the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association; the Texas Press Association; the Indianapolis Press Club; the Mississippi Press Association; and the Florida Press Association. (*Journalist*, 1886-1900, passim; *Fourth Estate*, 1894-1900, passim.) In 1895, the newspaper men *and women* of Nevada met to organize a press club, and in 1897, the New Orleans Press Club boasted of being the only press club in the nation to admit women to membership and to admit them with the same privileges as men. ("Notes Among the Clubs and Associations," *Fourth Estate*, 17 October 1895, p. 15, col. 1; "Woman in Press Club," *Fourth Estate*, 23 September 1897, p. 3, col. 1.)

34.Margherita Arlina Hamm, "Among the Newspaper Women," 3 September 1892, p. 10, col. 1.

35.E. Cora De Puy, "Southern Michigan," *Journalist*, 5 July 1890, p. 5, col. 3; "Annual Meeting of the Illinois Woman's Press Association," *Journalist*, 4 February 1891, p. 10, col. 2; "Topeka," *Journalist*, 26 March 1898, p. 225, col. 3; E. Cora De Puy, "Southern Michigan," 13 May 1899, p. 264, col. 3.

36. "Woman's Press Club of Illinois," *Journalist*, 18 December 1886, p. 14, col. 1.

37.*Fourth Estate*, 4 July 1895, p. 10, col. 3; *Journalist*, 16 April 1892, p. 4, col. 3.

38.Cora Stuart Wheeler, "Mrs. M. L. Rayne," *Journalist*, 28 February 1891, p. 1-2.

39."Three Bright Chicago Women," *Journalist*, 26 January 1889, p. 17, col. 1-2. The Chicago women were Helen M. Mott, Katherine G. Todd, and Mrs. Charles B. Smith, none of whom had experience in journalism. The purpose of the school was to provide "practical insight into the avenues of business life such as law, railroads, life insurance, journalism and general office work."

40.Ladd, 173-74.

41."Newspaper Work," *Fourth Estate*, 7 December 1899, p. 4, col. 2.

42.Lavinia S. Goodwin, "Magnetic Journalism," *Journalist*, 27 July 1889, p. 4, col. 2.

43.Kate Masterson, "Small Beginnings in Journalism," *Journalist*, 1 December 1894, p. 5, col. 1.

44.Several organizations of a more literary character, such as the Penwomen's Club of Chicago, were also in existence or organized during this period. (*Fourth Estate*, 16 May 1895, p. 22, col. 3.)

45."The Illinois Woman's Press Association," *Fourth Estate*, 23 May 1895, p. 3, col. 1

46.*Journalist*, 19 November 1892. p. 11, col. 1-2.

47.E. Cora De Puy, "Organization of the Michigan Woman's Press Association," 2 August 1890, p. 11, col. 2.

48.Will Chaddock, "Michigan," *Journalist*, 27 August 1892, p. 5, col. 1.

49."Press Club Notes," *Fourth Estate*, 5 May 1898, p. 3, col. 1; *Journalist*, 10 April 1890, p. 13, col. 3.

50.*Journalist*, 18 December 1886, p. 14 col. 1. By December, the association had already received pledges for $500.

51.*Journalist*, 17 June 1893, p. 14, col. 2; "Boston," *Journalist*, 13 January 1894, p. 12, col. 2; "Clubs and Associations," *Fourth Estate*, 22 March 1894, p. 6, col. 4; "The Club Women," *Fourth Estate*, 10 December 1898, p. 5, col. 3.

52."Press Club News," *Fourth Estate*, 15 December 1898, p. 3, col. 1.

53.*Journalist*, 4 April 1891, p. 11, col. 1.

54.Gottlieb, 161.

55."Press Club News," *Fourth Estate*, 4 May 1899.

56.Flexner, 182-196; *Journalist*, 1894-1900, passim.

57."Draws the Color Line Closely," *Fourth Estate*, 21 March 1895, p. 3, col. 2.

58.Women are typically undercounted in "traditional" methods of counting that identify, for example, "working" as those employed in full-time positions. Here the author accepts the definition these women applied to themselves.

59.By "taking these women seriously," this author does not mean that male journalists automatically respected or accepted women journalists as equals. On the contrary, "taking them seriously" often initially meant increased hostility and resistance. This observation is reminiscent of historian Lauren Kessler's findings in regard to the various phases of press coverage of dissident groups in which the press first completely excludes the group, its ideas, and goals; then, while it may include events about the group, it typically excludes the ideas of the group; next, it ridicules insults, or stereotypes the group and its ideas. (Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press*, Beverly Hills: SAGE, 1984.) This is echoed in Todd Gitlin's study of radical groups in the 1960s, which finds that in a fourth and final stage of the press's relationship to such groups, the group and its goals are coopted or mainstreamed to such an extent that it is acceptable to both the press and society at large. (Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and the Unmaking of the New Left*, [Berkely: University of California Press, 1980].)

60."Hardly Gallant," *Journalist*, 23 January 1892, p. 8, col. 2

61."Women as News-Scoopers," *Journalist*, 31 March 1888, p. 12, col. 1.

62.Pen Dennis, Jr., "Between Us," *Journalist*, 26 May 1894, p. 2, col. 2.

63."Carelessness of Facts," *Fourth Estate*, 10 November 1898, p. 4, col. 1-2.

64.Di Vernon, "What is a Newspaper Woman?" *Journalist*, 5 September 1891, p. 7, col. 1. "Di Vernon" was the pen name of Eliza D. Keith, weekly columnist for the *San Francisco News Letter* and special correspondent to the *San Francisco Call*. She was a member of the Pacific Coast Woman's Press Association.

65.Adoniram Meek, "Our Boston News Letter," *Journalist*, 9 July 1898, p. 110, col. 2.

66."Boston Beanlets," *Journalist*, 24 July 1897, p. 110, col. 2. The author of this column, who wrote under the penname of "Hawk," typically ridiculed the New England Woman's Press Association, which he elsewhere described as "redolent" and the members as "adorable." ("Boston Beanlets," *Journalist,* 1 January 1898, p. 130, col. 2.)

67."Bye-the-Bye," *Journalist*, 26 February 1898, p. 192, col. 3.

68."Philadelphia," *Journalist*, 5 March 1898, p. 199, col. 3. Forman had initially hailed the International League of Press Clubs as a force for promoting fraternity, good-fellowship, honor, and loyalty among newspapermen (notwithstanding the fact that at least half a dozen women's associations were affiliated). ("The International League," *Journalist*, 20 May 1893, p. 6, col. 1-2.) By 1894, however, he had criticized it for doing nothing of value and providing nothing more than a social outing. The New England Woman's Press Association withdrew from the League in 1894 as a result of this criticism. (*Journalist*, 9 June 1894, p. 13, col. 1.)

69."League Meeting," *Fourth Estate*, June 4, 1898, p. 5, col. 2.

70."Helen Wilmans of Woman's World," *Journalist*, 29 May 1886, p. 7, col. 2.

71.Marion Tuttle Marzolf, *Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism, 1880-1950* (NY: Longman, 1991): 7-33.

72.Pauline Pry, "The 'New Woman,'" *Journalist*, 23 October 1890, p. 12, col. 2-3.

73.Margherita Arlina Hamm, "Among the Newspaper Women," *Journalist*, 28 May 1892, p. 6, col. 3.

74."Women in Journalism," *Fourth Estate*, 7 March 1895, p. 7, col. 1.

75."Women in Journalism," *Journalist* 28 May 1887, p. 8, col. 2. This became a typical criticism of professional women following the feminist movement of the 1960s; linking "feminism" with women's professional demands became a typical ploy for confusing the issue and delegitimizing the demand.

76."Newspaper Women," *Fourth Estate*, 13 April 1899, p. 2, col. 4, p. 4, col. 1. Welch went on to say that regardless of their numbers, women had not yet attained positions of authority as managing or city editors.

77.Quoted in "Women in Journalism," *Fourth Estate*, p. 7, col. 1.

78."Space Writers are Sad," *Fourth Estate*, 5 May 1898, p. 1, col. 2.

79.For a discussion of the impact of the new pragmatism on American thought and journalism, see J. Herbert Altschull, *From Milton to McLuhan: The Ideas Behind American Journalism* (New York: Longman, 1990), 235-40.

"Securing the Affections of Those People at This Critical Juncture": Newspaper Portrayal of Colonial-Native American Relations, 1754-1763

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In 1765, a brief news item appeared in several American newspapers. It said, "We hear from Albany that 6 Indians in a bark canoe, attempting to cross the ferry at Green Bush, were overset, & four of them *happily* drowned."[1] The editorial comment expressing delight at the death of four Native Americans no doubt reflected the feelings of most white Americans. Those dark-skinned aborigines who had inhabited North America before it became the "New World," were, in the words of the Englishman John Smith, "enemies in the eyes of Pilgrim fathers, who believed that the New World was the promised land which was theirs to possess even if every one of the Canaanites perished at the point of the sword."[2] For that reason, the more Native Americans who drowned or died in any manner, the easier it became for English settlers to secure America.

But in 1754, colonial security was breached; military invasion was imminent, and governors and assemblies from Georgia to Nova Scotia were seeking treaties of alliance with nations to help protect the colonies from England's longtime enemy—France. Diplomats, however, were not boarding ships in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Charleston to travel to the capital of the Netherlands, Portugal, or any other European monarchy to sign treaties for assistance. Instead, governors, legislators, and other colonial leaders traveled into the interiors of their respective colonies. There, they were meeting with national leaders, many whose nations for nearly 150 years had been considered impediments or outright enemies to English settlement in the New World. These national leaders were the sachems and headmen of numerous Native American nations, and "Securing the Affections of Those People at this Critical Juncture"[3] was paramount according to newspaper reports.

Even though the French had already enlisted numerous Native Americans from Canada to the Mississippi River delta as allies and Indians on the whole were feared by settlers, colonial governments were convinced treaties of friendship with as many Native American nations as possible were the best way to ward off the French. English friendship with former enemies was now imperative. South Carolina Governor James Glen summed up the situation for colonists in the *South-Carolina Gazette*: "The Friendship of the Indian Nations around us is of the greatest Importance, and therefore to be cultivated with the greatest Care; and I can assure you, that the Attention given by the Governor and Council, to all Indian Affairs in general, is equal to the Importance of them."[4]

This research looks at newspaper coverage of America's relationship with Native Americans at a pivitol juncture in American colonial history, the period from 1754-1763. It explores the significance that American governments—and consequently newspapers—placed upon Native Americans during the French and Indian War. In the midst of a war whose name nebulously placed all Native Americans in the camp of the enemy, America's newspapers provided conflicting reports on Native Americans. One newspaper correspondent explained, "And is not every News-Paper stained with the innocent Blood of Women and Children, and of unarmed Sufferers, who were plowing their Land, or gathering in their Harvest, on our Frontiers" when Native Americans attacked.[5] Other newspaper reports, however, pointed out that if all Native American nations aligned with the French, "how fatal an Influence such an Event [would] have upon the British interest."[6] For that reason, efforts were made to sign peace treaties, non-aggression pacts, and fighting alliances with Native Americans during the period. This research will explore those pacts during the decade of the French and Indian War. It will also present how Native Americans were attacked and described in print at the same time. The result demonstrates that even though Native Americans were considered "brutal

Enemies"[7] by American colonists, they were in the colonial period considered sovereign nations as well.

Media historian Frank Luther Mott called the French and Indian War "the great running story" of the colonial era,[8] yet neither Mott nor other media historians discuss in any detail newspaper coverage of the war except to mention the *Pennsylvania Gazette* woodcut "Join or Die" that appeared 9 May 1754 as a warning of what could happen unless the colonies united to fight the French and their allies.[9] Also, scholars have studied Native Americans and the media, but those studies focus upon the media's treatment of Indians in the nineteenth century and later or upon the Native American press[10] and do not deal with the colonial press. Sidney Kobre in his study of colonial newspapers did discuss Native Americans and newspapers in relation to *Publick Occurrences* and the fact that gathering news and then delivering it from 1704-1714 was often jeopardized by Indian attacks on post riders.[11] But Kobre omits the fact that newspapers provided extensive coverage of Native American activities, which were discussed almost every week in American newspapers from 1754-1760. This research is a preliminary step in providing an accurate portrayal of "the great running story" of the era as it pertains to Native Americans.

For this study, five colonial newspapers were read in their entirety from January 1754 through December 1763. The newspapers were the *South-Carolina Gazette*, the *Maryland Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the *New-York Mercury*, and the *Boston Gazette*. Newspapers were selected because of their geographic locations and because of their continuity of publication. Approximately 2,600 issues were read.

Before looking at newspaper coverage of the Native American-colonial relationship from 1754-1763, a brief overview of the political situation leading up to the French and Indian

War and colonial understanding of Native Americans should help in understanding how colonial newspaper reports on these relationships were perceived at the time.

The North American Situation

The French and Indian War was the fourth declared war between England and France in America, but hostilities between the colonists from the two European nations started almost immediately after colonization began in 1607-1608. The English occupied French Quebec from 1629-1632,[12] and Acadia—the region of Eastern Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia—was taken by force from the French in 1654 but returned in 1667.[13] In 1689, the first of the four declared wars, King William's War (1689-1697), began.[14] Native Americans joined the French in their raids of English settlements, in part because the French had assisted Native Americans in New England during the English-Native American confrontation known as King Philip's War. This mutual aid pact between the French and English continued through the colonial period.[15]

In 1702, English and French relations in Europe erupted into fighting, naturally spilling over into America. Known as Queen Anne's War, control of Acadia was central to the fighting in North America. The first issue of the *Boston News-Letter* in 1704 opened with a long account of France's plans to gain a "Universal Monarchy" by gaining control of England and English territory in America.[16] France took control of Nova Scotia during this war, but the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 returned possession of Nova Scotia to England, while the French retained possession of nearby Cape Breton. England and France subsequently entered a period of European peace that lasted thirty years.[17] When fighting between the two started again, the American colonies became a site of warfare. Known as King George's War (1744-1748), Native Americans played a central role in news reports. Up to £105, one newspaper announced, awaited anyone who could capture an enemy Indian male fighting for France and bring him to a British officer.[18]

The animosities between English and French settlers in America caused by King George's War were not settled by the war's peace treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. France controlled most of the territory of North America, and French claims beyond the Appalachians politically curtailed English westward expansion just as French control of Canada halted northern migration. European treaties, however, were not enough to stop British and French expansion. The French began to build forts in the disputed territory of the Ohio River Valley.[19] The British colonists saw these new forts and French troops being positioned in Canada as trespasses against them. In December 1753, Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie sent an expedition westward to build forts to stop French encroachment.[20] By the spring of 1754, British colonists and the French were fighting in the Ohio Valley with a large number of Native American nations from the St. Lawrence River to the Mississippi River delta siding with the French.[21] The true danger of the French and Indian organization against the British colonists was quickly brought into focus by the publication of George Washington's Journal.[22] Later, Washington's account of his defeat at Fort Necessity by the French and their allies helped crystalize American resolve to fight one more time.

English Perceptions of Native Americans

The English concept of Native Americans was rooted in the literature of sixteenth-century England.[23] The inhabitants were imagined to be "no less savage, wild, and noisome than the very beasts themselves."[24] When the English began their colonization attempts in

North America, Indian troubles started almost immediately.[25] The first account of conflicts between English colonists and Native Americans appeared in a London newspaper in 1645 after a Virginia massacre claimed 400 colonists.[26] Written attacks on Native Americans started in 1682 in America. In *A True HISTORY of the Captivity & Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, the horrors that many colonists believed awaited them at the hands of Native Americans were described. In this work that is an example of what has come to be known as captivity literature, Rowland described her abduction and how Native Americans "stripped [a man] naked, and split open his Bowels" and "made a fire and put [a woman and her child] into it."[27] In another narrative colonists learned how Native Americans "dash'd out the Brains of the Infants, against a Tree, and . . . would presently bury their Hatchets into their [captives'] Brains, and leave the carcasses on the ground."[28] Volumes were devoted to Native American atrocities during the French and Indian War period.[29]

American newspapers echoed the fear and dislike that had long existed between the English and French and the English and Native Americans. The single edition of *Publick Occurrences* in 1690 reported how Massachusetts colonials had marched out to fight the French and Indians near Piscataqua during King William's War.[30] Newspaper stories, especially during periods of English and French fighting, graphically described Native American atrocities, associating them with the French and Indians, as one Boston story printed during King George's War in 1745 demonstrates. Fighting with the French, the report stated, "the Indians cut open Capt. Donahew's Breast, and suck'd his Blood, and hack'd and mangled his Body in a most inhuman and barbarous Manner.[31]

Despite all of the negative writings about Native Americans, however, English colonists still viewed Native Americans as members of sovereign nations that could enter into treaties with the colonies.[32] This concept of sovereignty—in spite of the fear and dislike that most colonists felt for Native Americans—led to English efforts to establish treaties and alliances with Native Americans from 1754-1763. The concept ultimately created a dual view of Native Americans in America's newspapers.

Newspaper Portrayal of English-Native American Relations, 1754-1763

In the summer of 1753, a forboding piece of news appeared in newspapers. The story said:

> A few Days ago . . . the French marched a large Body of regular Troops and Indians , from Canada, with a Design to dislodge a Settlement lately made by the Government of Virginia . . . they have driven off, or destroyed the English. . . . [A] great Party of them is intended against our Friends the Catawba's, a brave little Nation firmly attached to this Government: Should the French succeed in sacrificing them, it might have the Effect to weaken the Friendship of the other Indian Nations in Alliance with us, and render the Peace of this Province much more precarious.[33]

Not only were the French and their allies set to mount attacks on English settlements in the Ohio Valley region, the report explained, they were preparing to launch attacks on Native American nations that had for years existed in relative harmony with the English. These Native Americans "firmly attached" to the English government had served for years as a buffer between the two European powers as they developed North American colonies, especially the large Cherokee and Iroquois nations.[34] In one news account, then, Native Americans were aggressors and protectors of the English.

During the next twelve months, attacks by the French and allying Native Americans produced a series of English losses. Unless stopped, Virginia Governor Dinwiddie warned in a speech that appeared in newspapers throughout America, colonists could expect hostile Native Americans to brutally eradicate English families one-by-one. The governor described how it would occur:

> Think you see the Infant torn from the unavailing Struggles of the distracted Mother, the Daughters ravished before the Eyes of their wretched Parents; and then, with Cruelty and insult, butcherd and scalped. Suppose the horrid Scene compleated, and the whole Family, Man, Wife, and Children (as they were) murdered and scalped . . . and then torn in Pieces, and in Part devoured by wild Beasts, for whom they were left a Prey by their more brutal Enemies.[35]

Letters from the backcountry also warned that every day, the French were successfully convincing tribes to "take up the Hatchet against the English."[36] The defection of Native Americans no doubt reached a crisis point when news arrived that defeated colonials had been in front of victorious French troops and Native Americans who "were all our own *Indians, Shawnese, Delawares, and Mingos, (or Six Nations)* for many of the *English* knew them and called to them by their Names."[37]

With increasing French victories and growing Native American aggression,[38] many colonial leaders believed that the survival of British Colonial America was dependent upon renewed friendship with Native Americans. As a result, calls for a congress with Native Americans and for demonstrations of strength in unity by the English against the French began to appear in American newspapers. Colonial leaders, in part under the direction of the "Lords of Trade" in London,[39] decided to meet with the leaders of the Six Nations[40] in June 1754 in Albany to create a league of "Mutual Assistance," something that had been discussed in colonial assemblies and newspapers as early as December 1753.[41] In Annapolis, the *Maryland Gazette* reported, the House of Delegates agreed "to raise a Sum of Money, for Purchasing suitable Presents to be delivered to the Six Nations, by the Commissioners who are to be charged with the Renewal of the Covenant Chain with them." The Maryland Assembly went on record saying it was "fully convinced, that our own Security is connected with the Safety of our Neighbours, and that in Case of an Attack we ought mutually to assist and support each other." For the Assembly, "Neighbours" included bordering colonies and Native American nations.[42]

In conjunction with the planned meeting with Native Americans at the Albany Conference,[43] correspondents writing to newspapers and colonial legislatures agreed that the English colonies also needed to mount a strong display of force to impress Native Americans. A writer to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* argued that the colonies needed to join together to remove the French from the Ohio Valley. If not, the writer said, "our Indian Allies . . . will think themselves obliged to quit the Interest of those that seem unable to protect them."[44] Not only did the colonies need military strength to protect the English, they had to be able to do the same for Native Americans. "Philanthropos," in another letter to the *Gazette*, explained the Native American situation succinctly, "Our *Indians* must for their own Safety join the strongest Party."[45] Native Americans, therefore, became the key to control of North America, as a Boston sermon by Jonathan Mayhew explained. "Indeed," the Congregationalist minister proclaimed from the pulpit, "whoever has the Friendship of most or all, of these Natives, may probably, in Time, become Masters of this Part of the Continent."[46]

Displays of English strength and efforts to persuade Native Americans would not be enough to keep some Native Americans from siding with the English, according to America's newspapers. Still, many groups of Native Americans, including the Cherokees, were already fighting in the English interest. And according to the article that Benjamin Franklin printed with his "JOIN, or DIE" woodcut on 9 May 1754, many Indians felt they needed more English help because they were fighting alone in the king's cause. "An eternal Separation made between the Indians and their Brethren the English" would occur, the article said, if the

English did not "send out their Warriors to join them [Native Americans], and drive the French out of the Country."[47] Many of the colonies evidently obliged Native American requests for troops and went even further by offering protection for Native American women and children. Newspapers told how Native Americans were brought into colonial forts and settlements in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia.[48] Maryland even set aside £6,000, in part "for the Relief and Support of the Wives and Children of our Indian Allies."[49]

American colonists needed Native American assistance to stop French aggression. Congresses, demonstrations of English military power, and aid for friendly Native Americans all played a part in the plan, according to colonial newspapers. But newspapers also revealed another motive behind stopping the French and gaining alliances with Native American nations—money. Survival may have been paramount in the minds of colonial leaders when calling for the Albany Congress, but economic interests were not far behind, newspapers reveal. When Massachusetts Governor William Shirley spoke to the Massachusetts Assembly and requested commissioners be sent to Albany, the *Boston Gazette* reported, he pointed out that cordial relations between the English and the Six Nations were imperative to keep the French from successfully "exclud[ing] the English from all Trade and Commerce with those Indians."[50] The *New-York Mercury* related to its readers that New Jersey was not going to send delegates to Albany because the colony had not been "Partakers of the Benefits of the Indian Trade, and consequently quite unacquainted with the Interest and Trade of those Nations." The colony had decided, the story said, "to leave the Management of the Treaty to the Colonies that are accustomed to carry on those Negotiations."[51]

In the months both before and after the Albany Congress, then, newspapers presented the reasons that treaties of friendship were needed between the English and Native Americans.

But when it came time for the meeting in Albany, the leaders of the Six Nations must have been wary of English intents because even though newspaper accounts of the meeting generally said that the Congress ended "in Favour of the British Interest,"[52] Native Americans did not arrive on June 12 as scheduled but on June 20.[53] In addition, "a much smaller Number [of Native Americans] attended the Interview, than heretofore has been usual,[54] and none of the newspapers in this study reported agreements between English colonies and the sachems of the Six Nations. The lack of a treaty in Albany led to apprehension on the part of some colonists who warned against trusting Native Americans, who took gifts from the commissioners—Maryland alone allocated £500 to buy presents for sachems—[55]and then left the Congress. A writer using the pseudonym "Philopatris" warned, "What we spend upon those persidious Wretches, would be perhaps sufficient to defend us against all their [the French] Attempts. . . . For however friendly they may sometimes appear, they are but Enemies in Disguise, and therefore more dangerous than the French themselves."[56]

With no treaty signed between Native Americans and the British American colonies as an entity, individual colonies began seeking treaties with individual nations. Massachusetts, for example, signed a series of treaties with the Norridgewocks and Penobscots that provided a temporary buffer for the eastern part of the colony (Maine) from French encroachment.[57] And fighting, too, turned into a series of regional battles and conflicts. Within a year of Massachusetts' non-aggression pact with the Norridgewocks, the colony declared war on the tribe and others in the region, offering fifty pounds for every male prisoner brought to Boston, forty pounds for evidence of a male's being killed, twenty-five pounds for captured females and children, and twenty pounds for evidence of a dead female or child.[58]

Massachusetts' declaration of war on the tribes was but one part of the escalation in warfare that would take place from 1755-1758. In an effort to control French activity in the Ohio Valley, the British sent General Edward Braddock and two regiments to America. Braddock and his men arrived at Fort Cumberland on the Potomac River in Western Maryland on 11 June 1755, the *Maryland Gazette* reported, and were joined by colonial militiamen and more than one hundred Native Americans who had aligned themselves with the English.[59] But the French and their Indians routed Braddock and his troops.[60] The repercussions were felt almost immediately, the *South-Carolina Gazette* reported. Many Native Americans, a correspondent said, "renounced their Friendship to the English, soon after the Defeat of General Braddock and (having been persuaded by the French, that the English had laid a deep Scheme for destroying all the French in America, and after them all the Indians) swore perpetual War against them [the English]."[61]

Within a year of Braddock's defeat, England declared war of France, making the North American conflict a global one.[62] But official decrees from England did not change the nature of the war in America,[63] at least not initially and not in colonial and Native American relations. Treaties and war declarations instituted by both sides continued, especially from Virginia through New York. Pennsylvania's legislature, operating in part under Quaker concepts of nonviolence, rebuked Governor Robert Hunter Morris when he asked it to prepare to fight Native Americans. The assemblymen told the governor, according to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, "We are confident the Treatment our Indian Allies have always received from this Province, has great Weight with them, and that we have a large Share in their Affections, which we are willing to preserve, by continuing to treat them with Justice, Humantiy and Tenderness."[64]

It appeared that the Pennsylvania legislature had read the Native Americans correctly when several leaders of the Six Nations, meeting with commissioners from Philadelphia, "made a unanimous Declaration, that they would stand by their Brethren the English, and no ways assist the French."[65] But the Six Nations were not the only Native Americans living in Pennsylvania, Maryland, or New York. Newspaper reports of Native American atrocities no doubt made it difficult for all English colonists to view Native Americans with affection, as the Pennsylvania Assembly proposed. A Connecticut man in Maryland, for example, had "his Entrails taken out of his Body, and afterwards crammed into his mouth," the *Maryland Gazette* reported with this warning: "Such is the Fate of almost all that have the Misfortune to fall into their [hostile Native Americans'] Hands." "Respublica," writing to the *New-York Mercury*, offered a poem in homage to innocent New York women and children who were being slaughtered by Native Americans siding with the French. The doggerel declared:

Hear doleful Shrieks, see Garments roll'd in Blood:
Here, lies a Babe, snatch'd from its Mother's Knees,
In clotted Gore, dash'd 'gainst the rigid Trees;
There, the Mother butcher'd; a gastly Wound!
Her recking Entrails dragg'd along the Ground:
The hoary Sires, pierc'd by inhuman Darts,
Their gushing Bowels, torn in many Parts.[66]

In Pennsylvania, the same types of reports began reaching Philadelphia early in 1756, spreading to other regions through newspapers,[67] because, as intelligence from the Carlisle, Bethlehem, and Lancaster region revealed, the Delaware and their allies "had received the Hatchet from the French."[68] The Native American attacks caused the colony to reconsider, in part, its stance toward Native Americans. In the proclamation of war, Pennsylvania declared

> that the Delaware Tribe of Indians, and others in Confederacy with them, have, for some Time past, without the least Provocation, and contrary to their most solemn and persidious Manner killed and butchered great Numbers of the Inhabitants, and carried others into barbarous Captivity, burning and destroying their Habitations, and laying waste the Country.

The colony also placed a bounty on the scalps of male Delawares and their allies of 130 pieces of eight and invited neighboring colonies "to embrace all Opportunities of pursuing, taking, killing and destroying the said Delaware Indians."[69]

The colony of Pennsylvania, however, did not turn its back on the Six Nations. Instead, the declaration of war on the Delawares specified that the war was not with all Native Americans, acknowledging in that statement the sovereignty of each tribe. The declaration referred to the Six Nations and other Native Americans as "good Friends and Allies" and decreed that all Native Americans living north of where the Cayuga flowed into the Susquehanna were not included in the declaration of war. The proclamation even said that Delaware subgroups living in that region were not enemies of the colony because they had not taken part in attacks and, therefore, were officially "under the Protection of this and the neighbouring Governments."

But declaring a region of a colony as a safe haven for Native American tribes not at war with colonials was easier decreed than accomplished. News of violent raids and atrocities by Native Americans aligned with the French appeared weekly in newspapers. Native American scalps in Pennsylvania were worth 130 pieces of eight, and discerning the scalp of a Delaware from a Native American of the Six Nation federation was probably impossible. Friendly Native Americans were killed by mistake, as the *Boston Gazette* reported,[70] and intentional attacks on Native Americans living in the region above the Cayuga took place because Governor Morris in the *Pennyslvania Gazette* warned colonists that the Indians in that region were not enemies of the state and no more attacks were to take place against them. The warning reminded Pennsylvanians that they did not want to push the Six Nations "to be under the French Influence."[71] The admonition to leave the Six Nations alone must have helped focus military attention back onto the Delawares and reassure Six Nations' leaders because Pennylvania and the Delaware nation agreed to peace terms within six months. The Six Nations acted as intermediaries in the peace process, the newspaper report said.[72]

The treaty with the Delawares was but one of many that the English colonies and Native American nations signed as the war with the French escalated and the English—with growing numbers of regulars from the Mother Country—better organized their military efforts. Native Americans "are the most important Allies; and the most formidable Enemies; and consequently no Pains or Expence should be spared, to regain or secure their Friendship," the "Virginia Centinel" advised in a newspaper essay.[73] Catawba, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Meherrin, Mohawk, and Tuscarora warriors, consequently, affirmed alliances with colonial governments, initiated raids on the French and their Native American allies, and joined English military expeditions, newspapers reported.[74] Even the Shawnee, who had fought closely with the French, signed a treaty with a representative of London.[75] A series of English military victories over the French at Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario,[76] Fort Duquesne in Western Pennsylvania,[77] and at Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point in New York[78] cut off French supplies flowing to the French and their Indian allies in the British colonies and backcountry. In addition, the English captured the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island[79] and began a major invasion of Canada aimed at Quebec and Montreal,[80] further weakening French supply lines and war efforts.

These victories—evidence of growing English power—led to increased military alliances between Native Americans and the English colonies. News reports suggested that many Native American tribes that had fought with the French in the Ohio Valley, New York, and also New England were now abandoning their former allies. "Between 500 and 600 Indians have joined with England and declared against the French," a letter writer from Albany informed *Pennsylvania Gazette* readers,[81] while other Native American nations met with the English to form alliances at Fort Pitt, on the site of the razed French Fort Duquesne.[82] Other newspaper reports suggested that at least 1,100 Native Americans were hurrying to join the English forces preparing to attack Canada from the south.[83] With the French reeling in Canada, the English surrounded and defeated Quebec[84] and then Montreal,[85] leading to French capitulation of Canada and an end to most of the fighting between the English and French in North America.

As the news of peace filled American newspapers in 1760, news of confrontations between Native Americans and colonists from the Ohio Valley northward decreased as well. But English and Native American hostilities were far from completed. Native American and colonial relations in the Southern Colonies reached the breaking point in 1759 when war broke out between South Carolina and the Cherokees. Once again, war, treaties, and atrocities between Native Americans and the British colonies filled newspapers.

The war between the Cherokees and the English settlers in South Carolina was significant because recognition of Cherokee sovereignty—along with that of the Six Nations—was unmatched during the era according to colonial newspaper reports. English colonists realized that the Cherokees could ensure a victory over the French and their allies. One Virginia writer speculated that the Cherokees could easily raise 3,000 troops to fight the French and that "the Cherokees alone . . . would undoubtedly prove the best Defence of our Frontiers."[86] The Cherokees had assisted the English colonists of the Southern Colonies for decades. When, for example, the Tuscaroras attacked the settlers of North and South Carolina in 1711, the Cherokees, according to the *Boston News-Letter*, sent 1,200 warriors to North Carolina to fight for the English.[87] And immediately following Braddock's defeat in June 1755, the Cherokees reaffirmed their loyalty to King George and alliance with South Carolina when Governor James Glen met the Cherokees halfway between Charleston and the Cherokee's principal village. There, Cannacaughte, a chief, told the colonials:

> We are now Brothers with the People of Carolina, and one House covers us all: The Great King is our common Father. We, our Wives, and all our Children, are the Children of the Great King George, and his Subjects . . . and we will obey him as such. I bring this litle [*sic*] Child, that, when he grows up, he may remember what is now agreed to, and that he may tell it to the next Generation, that so it may be handed down from one Generation to another for ever.[88]

For the next three and one-half years, the Cherokee nation operated under this treaty of friendship and assistance, sending hundreds of warriors to fight with the English in Virginia, the Ohio Valley, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York.[89]

But the same strength that made the Cherokees such valuable allies made them formidable enemies as well. The Cherokee, newspaper reports estimated, possessed "Three Times the Number of the Six Nations put together.[90] South Carolina leaders knew as the backcountry from Virginia northward was ravaged by warring Native Americans and the French that they were fortunate to have the Cherokees as neighbors, and a day of public fasting was ordered by Governor William Henry Lyttelton in May 1756 to remember that "this Colony, surrrounded with numerous Nations of Indians, has been wonderfully preserved in Peace and Security."[91]

In 1756, most South Carolina negotiations for peace and security with the Cherokees were addressed to a headman named Attakullakulla. Known as the Little Carpenter to the English, Attakullakulla had played a significant role in the Cherokee-South Carolina relationship since he traveled to London in 1730.[92] He would continue that role in the political relations of the Cherokees and the colonials through 1763 according to newspapers. South

Carolina leaders saw the "Preservation of the Friendship of the Indian Nations in Alliance with us" as the "Point of greatest Consequence" for the colony[93] and came to depend upon the Little Carpenter to ensure the Cherokee-colonial alliance.[94]

South Carolina's reliance upon Attakullakulla and the colony's war with the Cherokees demonstrates all of the intracasies of Native American-colonial relations. Native American leaders were often recognized as leaders on par with colonial governors, but that was not in reality the case since Native American nations had divisions, at least three major ones for the Cherokees in South Carolina, according to newspapers. Individual villages also retained autonomy. In addition, Native American nations did not operate within a political network that consisted solely of the nation and the English. Political relationships among Native American tribes had been in existence for centuries and were often complicated. The Cherokee-Creek political situation, consequently, played a role in the situation in 1759. The Cherokee war also points out how colonial attitudes toward Native Americans could change whenever Indian actions did not coincide with colonial interests. Native American-colonial alliances may have been points of great consequence and many Indian nations considered friends and allies, but even the best Native American allies could become nothing more than "Gangs of Murderers" that should be wiped out completely when interests of the two groups were at odds.[95]

In 1759 while most colonists were reading of war successes at Louisbourg, Crown Point, Niagara, and Ticonderoga along with plans to subdue the French in Canada, the *South-Carolina Gazette* reported how small groups of French and allied Native Americans were ambushing groups of Creek, Cherokee, and Chickasaw Indians in the backcountry of South Carolina.[96] The confusion caused by these attacks evidently led to inflamation of hostilities that had existed among tribes of the region.[97] Attakullakulla sought ammunition from South

Carolina for Cherokee protection from the French and hostile Native Americans and promised that he and other Cherokees would retaliate for the English and retrieve English scalps taken by the French Indians. The *Gazette* reported that Attakullakulla was not given the requested supplies, the reasoning being South Carolina did not want an escalation in hostilities.[98]

Within two weeks a group of Creeks came into Charleston to reveal "a dangerous Conspiracy" planned by the Cherokees to begin with "a general Massacre of [English] Traders."[99] Evidently some Cherokees led by a sachem named Young-Twin had tried to gain Creek neutrality in a proposed attack on whites in the Western South Carolina settlements of Ninety-Six and Fort Loudoun.[100] Old anomosities between the Creek and Cherokee, no doubt, inflamed the situation, leaving at least one tribe ready to fight the Cherokees again.[101]

With the colony of South Carolina warned of a possible rebellion, leaders in Charleston contacted Attakullakulla, who did his best to persuade the rebellious Cherokees not to declare war on the white settlers. In a news story that demonstrated how complicated Native American affairs were for colonials, the *South-Carolina Gazette* explained how strained relations between Cherokees and other Native American tribes, along with encroachment by English settlers, was now threatening South Carolina's longtime allies. The story said:

> The Cherokee's related a long Train of pretended Grievances, such as, the Loss of their People on the Frontier of Virginia, Encroachments on their Hunting-Ground, &c. declared that nothing but the Fear of drawing the Resentment of the Creeks upon them, preventing them taking a Resolution to break with the English.[102]

The grievances presented by the Cherokees may have been "pretended" to South Carolina officials, but they were real to the Cherokees. Forty Cherokees returning from service to the British had been ambushed and scalped in Virginia for the bounty placed on French Indian scalps with no repercussions.[103] The newly constructed backcountry forts, settlements, and homesteads meant hunting lands were diminishing. The fact that Cherokees had died fighting to preserve the colonial frontier from the French and were now losing Cherokee land to the people of those same frontiers further exacerbated the situation.[104]

Even though Attakullakulla tried, he could not diffuse the tensions. Hostile Cherokees attacked and scalped soldiers stationed at Fort Loudoun. As soon as the news reached Charleston, the government prepared for war. The governor and troops headed for the backcountry, and the Cherokees were warned that troops from both Carolinas and Virginia would come and crush them.[105] War had begun, and colonists who had depended on Cherokee friendship for protection now attacked their one-time allies. A song, to be sung by troops marching west to fight the Cherokees said:

We'll teach the treach'rous Indians how
With due Humility to bow;
Their savage Hearts we will subdue,
And make them to our King more true.

No Treaties them have ever bound,
As we've by sad Experience found;
Our Fathers often us have told,
How we for Trinklets have been sold.

We'll then compel these Beasts of Prey
To rue the Time—their scalping
And Satisfaction we will have,
Nor guilty Indian will we save.[106]

The government in Charleston sought to end the war amicably in January 1760 by offering a treaty of peace and frienchship to the Cherokees, but the offer was rejected.[107] By February, however, the *South-Carolina Gazette* warned that the "whole Province is now in Arms, or arming, to repress the Invasion of the persidious Cherokees."[108] The Creeks declared war on the Cherokees in May followed by the Catawbas.[109] The brutality of the Cherokee war matched the atrocities commited in the fighting that had been going on since 1754 in the colonies, and the news out of South Carolina revealed that barbarity occurred on both sides. In retaliation for an attack on Ninety-Six, colonials inflamed Cherokee hatred by taking a brave "who was killed and scalped, and whose Body was given to the Dogs, and his Scalp hoisted along-side of the Colours." The *Gazette* stated that "the Bodies of the Savages were cut to Pieces and given to the Dogs" as a means of solace for grieving colonists.[110] By summer, the atrocities inflicted upon the settlers matched those that the settlers had perpetrated on the Cherokees. A lengthy *South-Carolina Gazette* war report told how a ransom was paid by white settlers at one of the forts for a woman and three children, "but the Woman had been so cruelly used that she died soon after." In addition, the report stated that "the Indians burn all their Men Prisoners; they had lately burnt Six at Conasatchee . . . amongst them John Downing, whose Arms and Legs they first cut off."[111]

By the end of August, the colonists held captive in Fort Loudoun had surrendered the fort and its artillery to the Cherokees in agreement for safe passage northward.[112] But because of the different factions of Cherokees, surrender to one group at Fort Loudoun did not ensure that Cherokees farther north would not attack soldiers or settlers on the march, which is exactly what happened. The attack left the colonists in "utmost confusion." The Cherokees, according to the *South-Carolina Gazette*'s report, tortured all of their captives:

> Capt. Demeré received two wounds the first volley, was directly scalped, and the Indians made him dance about for their diversion some time, after which they chopped off one hand or arm, than the other, and so his legs, &c. using the most shocking barbarities on the bodies of others of our people.[113]

News reports of war atrocities continued into 1761, and Attakullakulla played an increasingly larger role in efforts to stop the fighting. Taking a group of eight hundred of his warriors, the chief rescued English prisoners held on the Tuscarora River and then held peace talks with warring Cherokee leaders.[114] The Little Carpenter, however, had no luck in stopping the fighting in the spring of 1761, and by July, the *South-Carolina Gazette* announced "the whole army [is] employed against the Cherokees.[115] Evidently, the South Carolina regiments—with an army from North Carolina joining them—turned the tide on the Cherokees. On 28 November 1761, the *Gazette* announced that Attakullakulla had succeeded in getting the Cherokees to ratify a peace treaty. The Cherokee chief's proposal received South Carolina council approval three weeks later.[116]

Attakullakulla's efforts to maintain peace between Native Americans and the English colonies did not end. In 1763, he was still meeting with Cherokees, Creeks, and other Southern tribes as the liaison for the whites.[117] But Native American relations—especially hostile ones—moved west. War with France may have been officially over,[118] but war with Native Americans was not. Indians from Western Pennsylvania to Detroit joined together in the spring of 1763 to battle British-speaking whites who flowed into the Ohio River Valley and Great Lakes regions following France's capitulation to England and subsequent removal of French settlers from much of North America. Known as Pondiac's War,[119] the Indian war effort lasted into 1765. An extended but unsuccessful siege of the British outposts at Fort Detroit and Fort Pitt, British attacks on Ohio Valley Indian towns, and the intentional spread of smallpox among the Indians through infected blankets by the officers at Fort Pitt broke the Indians' resolve and ended the war.[120]

With most if not all Native American nations in the thirteen colonies weakened significantly by 1765, colonial governments no longer needed to approach Indian relations in an egalitarian manner, and one writer to the *Maryland Gazette* revealed exactly what most colonists wished would happen to Native Americans when he recounted his dream for Annapolis readers:

> His Majesty's Agent in order effectually to prevent all farther Ravages by those barbarous Savages, had summoned all the Indians in America to meet him at a grand Congress. . . . At this Congress the Agent informed them . . . that they were a People whose Promises could not be relied on; and that from the immense Increase of the Whites the Country would soon be too narrow for both. . . . Upon which the whole Audience who all heard him very distinctly and easily took the Hint, unanimously rose up and immediately went and hanged themselves.——It is thought that the Subject of Ways and Means how to dispose of their Wives and Children to prevent the tragical Consequences of the Repopulation of America by such Savages, will be one of the first that will engage the Deliberation of the Parliament at their next Sitting.[121]

Conclusion

The newspaper portrayal of Native American-English relations from 1754-1763 reveals a dual understanding of the nations that inhabited North America before European settlement. Native Americans on one level were a feared and despised enemy. Yet during this period when the English and French were engaged in a battle for the control of a continent, "Securing the Affections of Those People at this Critical Juncture" was vital to American colonies. Because Native Americans fought with both the English and the French, there can be little doubt that many innocent Indians died during this period,[122] but newspapers reveal that the main concern in the killing of friendly Native Americans was the repercussion that the killings might have for colonial safety. As the *Pennsylvania Gazette* warned in 1756, the colony did not want to drive the Six Nations "to be under the French Influence."

The role of Native Americans as allies and as major political figures during this period as seen in newspapers should not be underestimated. The colonies and the Board of Trade in London viewed Native Americans relationships so vital to colonial welfare that they arranged a major meeting in June 1754 in Albany to attempt to work out a neutrality agreement with Native Americans and a colonywide plan of defense should the proper peace treaties not be reached. Even though the Albany Congress was not a success, individual colonies never stopped meeting with Native American nations, and colonial leaders frequented the backcountry homes of the Indians while Native Americans visited colonial capitals in efforts to further political and economic relationships. The roles of the Six Nations and Cherokees as political allies—and enemies in the case of the Cherokees from 1759-1761—cannot be underestimated, either. The role that the Cherokee sachem Attalkullakulla played in the politics and war of South Carolina further supports the nature of Native American sovereignty as presented in colonial newspapers.

Even though the colonies tended to downplay their political relationship with Native American nations following the end of the French and Indian war according to newspapers, Native American and colonial relationships were merely on hiatus during the Stamp Act crisis and the move toward separation from England from 1765-1775. When revolution occurred in 1775, the colonies again sought alliances with tribes. Native Americans assisted colonials by attacking British troops as independent fighting units[123] and enlisted as regulars in the Continental Army.[124] Whenever an important tribe such as the Shawnee declared in favor of the Americans, it was important news.[125]

Newspaper coverage of the French and Indian War and how Native Americans were portrayed during the conflict also helps tell the story of a changing media in America. By joining together to present comprehensive details of a war and details about Native Americans who represented potentially strong allies or dangerous enemies, newspapers began creating a competent network for information exchange and dissemination in America that citizens increasingly found they could not do without. The number of newspapers in America increased 73 percent during this period, growing at a rate approximately twice as fast as the population, a publication growth no doubt directly related to the value of the information in newspapers.[126]

The French and Indian War was the great running story of the colonial period. Newspapers carried thousands of stories that told of fighting with the French in the Caribbean, Europe, the East Indies, and India, as well as North America. News of Native American involvement in the fighting during this period is but one phase of the story. The Native American aspect of the story is, however, vital to the understanding of what was important to newspaper readers, which is to say what was important to colonial citizens.

Simply put: "Securing the Affections of Those People at this Critical Juncture" was vital to American survival from 1754-1763. This research chronicles how American colonies went about gaining that security.

ENDNOTES

1. *Boston Evening-Post*, 1 July 1765, 2 (emphasis included); *Massachusetts Gazette (And Boston News-Letter)* 4 July 1765, 2; and *Green & Russell's Boston Post-Boy & Advertiser*, 15 July 1765, 3.

2. John Smith, *The General Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles*, in *English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works*, ed. Edward Arber (New York: AMS, 1967), 10-11.

3. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 14 March 1754, 1; *New-York Mercury*, 25 March 1754, 1; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 16 April 1754, 1.

4. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 22 January 1754, 1. The speech also appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5 March 1754, 1.

5. *New-York Mercury*, 22 August 1757, 3; and *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 18 September 1757, 1.

6. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 16 May 1754, 2.

7. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 7 March 1754, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 12 March 1754, 1-2; *New-York Mercury*, 25 March 1754, 1; *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*. 26 March 1754, 1; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 2 April 1754, 2.

8. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: MacMillan, 1962), 52.

9. See, for example, James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing, 1923), 84; Willard Grosvenor Bleyer, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927), 76; Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nations: A History of Media in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 50; Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988), 57; Wm. David Sloan, James G. Stovall and James D. Startt, eds. *The Media in America: A History*, 2nd ed. (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Publishing Horizons, 1993), 42. Other important texts on media history only give brief mention of the French and Indian War, offer no discussion of newspaper coverage, or do not mention it. See, for example, Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (1810, reprint; New York: Weathervane Books, 1970), 305, 368; George Henry Payne, *History of Journalism in the United States* (1920, reprint; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970), 70-71; Mott, 52; Sidney Kobrey, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (1944, reprint; Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1960), 108; Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1969); Mitchell Stephens, *A History of*

News: From the Drum to the Satellite (New York: Viking Press, 1988), 186; and Wm. David Sloan and Julie Hedgepeth Williams, *The Early American Press, 1690-1783* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), 123.

David S. Shields, *Oracles of Empire: Poetry, Politices, and Commerce in British America, 1690-1750* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 222-26, discusses the role of the French and Indian War in producing elements of an empire identity among American colonists. He does not, however, use any examples of calls for a common American identity from American newspapers.

10. Works on the Native American press in America include: Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936); James E. Murphy and Sharon M. Murphy, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981); Richard Lacourse, "An Indian Perspective--Native American Journalism: An Overview," *Journalism History* 6 (1979): 34-38; Barbara P. Leubke, "Elias Boudinott, Indian Editor: Editorial Columns from the *Cherokee Phoenix*," *Journalism History* 6 (Winter 1979): 48-51; Henry T. Malone, "The Cherokee Phoenix: Supreme Expression of Cherokee Nationalism," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 34 (Sept. 1950): 163-88; Douglas C. McMurtie, "The *Shawnee Sun*: The First Indian Language Periodical Published in the United States," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 9 (1933): 339-42; and Sam G. Riley, "A Note of Caution—The Indians' Own Prejudice, as Mirrored in the First Native American Newspaper," *Journalism History* 6 (1979): 44-47.

Works on the media's coverage of Native Americans include: Linda M. Clemmons, "'Nature was Her Lady's Book': Ladies' Magazines, American Indians, and Gender, 1820-1859," *American Periodicals* 5 (1995): 40-58; John M. Coward, "Creating the Ideal Indian: The Case of the Poncas," *Journalism History* 21 (Autumn 1995): 112-21; Charles L. Rankin, "Savage Journalists and Civilized Indians: A Different View," *Journalism History* 21 (Autumn 1995): 102-11; Oliver A. Knight, *Following the Indian Wars: The Story of the Newspaper Correspondents Among the Indian Campaigners, 1866-1891* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960); Douglas C. Jones, "Teresa Dean: Lady Correspondent Among the Sioux Indians," *Journalism Quarterly* 49 (1972): 656-62; Sharon Murphy, "American Indians and the Media: Neglect and Stereotype," *Journalism History* 6 (1979): 39-43; Roger L. Nichols, "Printers' Ink and Red Skins: Western Newspapermen and the Indians," *Kansas Quarterly* 3 (Fall 1971): 82-88; and Elmo S. Watson, "The Indian Wars and the Press, 1866-1867," *Journalism Quarterly* 20 (1943): 301-10.

11. Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper*, 25.

12. George Brown Tindall, *America: A Narrative History*, vol. 1 (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1984), 150-53.

13. Russell Bourne, *The Red King's Rebellion: Racial Politics in New England 1675-1678* (New York: Atheneum, 1990), 215.

14. Tindall, 152-53. For a description of the wars between the English and French in North America, see Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars, 1689-1762* (Chicago and London:

University of Chicago Press, 1964).

15. Bourne, 215. See, also, Douglas Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York: Norton, 1966).

16. *Boston News-Letter*, 24 April 1704, 1.

17. W. E. Lunt, *History of England*, 4th ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), 475.

18. *Boston Evening-Post*, 26 August 1745, 2.

19. Larry Roux, "A Brief History of the French and Indian War," *1755*, http://web.syr.edu/~laroux/history.html (19 Jan. 1996).

20. *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 19 March 1754, 1.

21. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1992), 25.

22. Washington's Journal was published in the *Maryland Gazette*, 21 and 28 March 1754. Other newspapers picked up Washington's experiences in the Ohio Valley, including the *Boston Gazette*, one of the newspapers included in this study. The *Gazette* ran Washington's Journal over a six-week period, from 16 April through 21 May 1754.

23. For a full account of English perceptions of Native Americans during the colonial period see "The Sculking Indian Enemy," in David A. Copeland, *Colonial American Newspapers: Character and Content* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), 42-68.

24. Thomas More, *Utopia* (1517; reprint, London, 1955), 17, quoted in Alfred A. Cave, "Canaanites in a Promised Land: The American Indian and the Providential Theory of Empire," *American Indian Quarterly* 112 (Fall 1988), 278.

25. James Axtell believes part of the hostility that Native Americans exhibited for the English colonists from the very beginning stemmed from at least 50-100 years of prior contact with white Europeans. James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29.

26. *Mercurius Civicus* (London), 22 May 1645, in Joseph Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620-1690* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 86-87.

27. Mary Rowlandson, *A True HISTORY of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. MARY ROWLANDSON, a Minister's Wife in New-England. Wherein is set forth, The Cruel and Inhumane Usage she underwent amongst the Heathens, for Eleven Weeks time: And her Deliverance from Them* (New-England, 1682), 3.

28. Cotton Mather, *Humiliations follow'd with Deliverances, A Brief Discourse on the MATTER and METHOD, of that HUMILIATION which would be an Hopeful Symptom of our Deliverance from Calamity. Accompanied and Accommodated with A NARRATIVE, of a notable Deliverance lately Received by some English Captives, From the Hands of Cruel Indians* (Boston, 1697), 43.

29. Robert Eastburn, *A Faithful NARRATIVE of The Many Dangers and Sufferings, as well as wonderful Deliverance of ROBERT EASTBURN, during his late Captivity among the INDIANS: Together with some Remarks upon the Country of Canada, and the Religion, and Policy of its Inhabitants; tho whole intermixed with devout Reflections* (Philadelphia, 1758); and Peter Williamson, *French and Indian Cruelty; Exemplified in the LIFE And various Wicistitudes of Fortune, of PETER WILLIAMSON, A Disbanded Soldier* (York, 1757). Newspapers also carried captivity narratives in serial form. See, for example, "Narratives of the Sufferings and surprizing Deliverance of William and Elizabeth Fleming, who were taken Captives by Captain Jacob, Commander of the Indians, who lately made an Excursion on the Inhabitants of the Great-Cove near Conococheague, in Pennsylvania, as related by themselves," *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis) 1 April 1756, 1-2 and 8 April 1756, 1-2.

30. *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick* (Boston), 25 September 1690, 3.

31. *Boston Evening-Post*, 29 July 1745, 2.

32. See, for example, John Winthrop, *Journal*, ed. James Kendall Hosmer (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1946), 1:289.

33. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 26 July 1753, 1.

34. Tindall, 150.

35. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 7 March 1754, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 12 March 1754, 1-2; *New-York Mercury*, 25 March 1754, 1; *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 26 March 1754, 1; *and South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 2 April 1754, 2.

36. *New-York Mercury*, 8 April 1754, 3; and *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 11 April 1754, 2.

37. *New-York Mercury*, 22 July 1754, supplement (emphasis included). Another account of Native Americans who had once been considered as being in "the English Interest" but now fighting with the French appeared in the *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 19 September 1754, 1.

38. The newspapers used in this study printed accounts of French and Indian aggression almost every week in the spring and summer of 1754. These reports culminated in news of the defeat of George Washington and his colonials at Fort Necessity in July. *New-York Mercury*, 22 July 1754, supplement; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 25 July 1754, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia, 25 July 1754, 1; *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 30 July 1754, 2; and

South-Carolina Gazette (Charleston), 1 August 1754, 2. The original report of Washington's defeat was taken from the 19 July 1754 issue of the *Virginia Gazette*, which is no longer extant. Newspapers ran follow-up reports and the surrender terms agreed to by Washington in the weeks after the original report of the defeat appeared in the respective newspapers.

39. Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, eds. J. A. Leo Lemay and P. M. Zall (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press), 130. Also, in a letter from Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie to South Carolina Governor James Glen, Dinwiddie said, "The Governor of New York has a Meeting with the Six Nations at Albany by Order from Home." Later, Dinwiddie explained that order came from the Lords of Trade. William L. McDowell Jr., "Documents relating to Indian Affairs, May 21, 1750-August 7, 1754," *Colonial Records of South Carolina* (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958), 523.

40. The Six Nations was a confederation of Native Americans who spoke the Iroquoian language. The tribes for the most part inhabited what is now central New York. Originally, the Six Nations were known as the Five Nations and made up of Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Oneida, and Seneca Native Americans. Following the Tuscarora War in North and South Carolina (1711-1715), the Tuscaroras—who also spoke the Iroquoian language—migrated north, changing the Five Nations into six. Because the Six Nations spoke the Iroquoian language, the nations were often referred to generically as the Iroquois.

41. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 13 December 1753, 1.

42. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 14 March 1754, 1.

43. The Albany Congress was held in June 1754. Delegates from Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island met with leaders of the Six Nations. In addition, the delegates created the Albany Plan of Union, a plan to create a permanent intercolonial union. Delegates took the plan back to their respective general assemblies, but the Plan of Union was rejected by colonial assemblies. See, John M. Blum and others, *The National Experience*, 6th ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), I:82-83. For the text of the Albany Plan of Union, see Henry Steele Commanger, ed., *Documents of American History*, 8th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1968), I:43-45.

44. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 2 May 1754, 2; and *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 14 May 1754, 3.

45. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5 September 1754, 1; and *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 17 September 1754, 1.

46. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 29 August 1754, 1. Mayhew delivered the sermon on 29 May 1754 to the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

47. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 9 May 1754, 2. The story and woodcut appeared in the *New-York Mercury*, 13 May 1754, 2 and in the *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 21 May 1754, 3. The *South-Carolina Gazette* ran a notice of the woodcut but not the woodcut

May 1754, 3. The *South-Carolina Gazette* ran a notice of the woodcut but not the woodcut itself 22 August 1754, 2. Franklin's authorship of the rattlesnake woodcut is generally accepted. For a discussion of his usage of the rattlesnake as a symbol of unity during the French and Indian War and earlier, see J. A. Leo Lemay, *The Canon of Benjamin Franklin, 1722-1776* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 124-26.

48. See. for example. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 1 August 1754, 1; and *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 22 August 1754, supplement.

49. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 1 August 1754, 2; and *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 13 August 1754, 3.

50. *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 30 April 1754, 1. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 16 May 1754, 1; and *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 6 June 1764, 1. Trade was still a prime consideration with Native Americans at the height of the French and Indian conflict. See, for example. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 12 January 1758, 2.

51. *New-York Mercury*, 6 May 1754, 1.

52. *New-York Mercury*, 15 July 1754, 1; and *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 18 July 1754, 2.

53. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 11 July 1754, 2; *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 16 July 1754, 2; and *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 25 July 1754, 2.

54. *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 23 July 1754, 2.

55. *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 4 June 1754, 2.

56. *New-York Mercury*, 16 September 1754, supplement.

57. *New-York Mercury*, 15 July 1754, 2 and 22 July 1754, 2-3. Subsequent news on the treaty with the tribes may be found in *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Advertiser*, 19 November 1754, 1.

58. *Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, 16 June 1755, 1; and *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 26 June 1755, 2.

59. 12 June 1755, 2.

60. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 31 July 1755, 2. See, also, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 7 August 1755, 2; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 21 August 1755, 2. For continued discussion of the ramifications of Braddock's defeat, see *Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, 18 August 1755, 1; and *New-York Mercury*, 10 November 1755, 2-3.

61. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 7 May 1756, extraordinary.

62. *New-York Gazette*, 19 July 1756, 3; *Maryland Gazette*, (Annapolis), 22 July 1756, nameplate; *Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, 26 July 1756, 1; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 29 July 1756, 1; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 19 August 1756, 1. The global war between England, France, and their allies was known as the Seven Years' War. Fighting took place in North America as well as in Europe, India, and the East Indies. Fighting between the French and English also took place in the West Indies. According the newspaper reports, fighting in the Caribbean escalated from privateer raids that began in 1754 to skirmishes in 1755, and outright fighting early 1756. See, for example, *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 9 April 1754, 1; 1 May 1755, 2; and 15 April 1756, 2.

63. The French and their Native American allies posted several decisive victories during 1756 and 1757 while successfully defending their positions, especially at Fort Duquesne, which newspapers reported could not be taken by the English until late in 1758. See *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 7 December 1758, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 14 December 1758, 1; *New-York Mercury*, 18 December 1758, 3; *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 8 January 1759, 1; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Annapolis), 29 December 1758, 2. Other major losses for the English included Oswego, *New-York Mercury*, 6 September 1756, 3; and Fort William Henry, *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 15 August 1757, 2.

64. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 19 December 1754, 1.

65. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 17 July 1755, 2; and *New-York Mercury*, 21 July 1755, 3.

66. *New-York Mercury*, 16 February 1756, 1.

67. See, for example, *Pennsylvanica Gazette* (Philadelphia), 5 February 1756, 1; *New-York Mercury*, 8 March 1756, 1-2 and 15 March 1756, 1-2; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 7 May 1756, supplement.

68. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 6 November 1755, 2.

69. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 15 April 1756, 1-2 and 22 April 1756, 1-2; and *New-York Mercury*, 19 April 1756, 2. New Jersey also declared war on the Delawares. See *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 25 March 1756, 2.

70. *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 1 August 1757, 2.

71. *Pennyslvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 10 June 1756, 1.

72. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 29 July 1756, 1. New Jersey's war with the Delawares ended shortly after that of Pennsylvania. *New-York Mercury*, 2 August 1756, 1.

73. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 17 March 1757, 1. The writings of the "Virginia Centinel" on the crises of the French and Indian War first appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 30 April 1756. That issue is no longer extant. The Centinel's work appeared

in newspapers in many American cities. For a brief discussion of the "Virginia Centinel," see J. A. Leo Lemay, *A Calendar of American Poetry* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1972), 183-84.

74. News accounts of aggreements between these Native American tribes and various colonial governments or of these groups fighting for the English may be found in numerous newspapers of the period. For examples that mention the nations listed, see *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 16 May 1757, 1 (Meherrin) and 1 August 1757, 2 (Mohawk); *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 3 March 1757, 2 (Cherokee and Creek) and 2 June 1757, 3 (Catawba); *New-York Mercury*, 30 May 1757, 1 (Cherokee) and 17 July 1758, 3 (Cherokee and Creek); *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 10 March 1757, 1 (Catawba), 14 April 1757, 2 (Cherokee), 21 April 1757, 2 (Tuscarora); and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 13 January 1757, 2 (Chickasaw).

some of these tribes may also have joined the English in fighting the French and their Native American allies because of long-standing hostilities between them and tribes that sided with the French. See, Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 23-35; and Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1933), 33, 235-38.

75. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 5 May 1757, 1.

76. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 28 September 1758, 2.

77. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 7 December 1758, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 14 December 1758, 1; *New-York Mercury*, 18 December 1758, 3; *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 8 January 1759, 1; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Annapolis), 29 December 1758, 2.

78. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 16 August 1759, 1; and *New-York Mercury*, 27 August 1759, 2.

79. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 17 August 1758, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 24 August 1758, 3; *New-York Mercury*, 28 August 1758, 2. *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 28 August 1758. 1; and the *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 2 October 1758, 1.

80. *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 30 April 1759, 1; 14 May 1759, 2; and 28 May 1759, 2.

81. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 3 May 1759, 1.

82. *New-York Mercury*, 9 July 1759, 2; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 12 July 1759, 3; and *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 16 July 1759, 2.

83. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 26 July 1759, 2. It should be noted that although many Native Americans from the Ohio Valley northward were switching loyalties, not all Native Americans who had originally sided with the French abandoned them.

84. *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal*, 15 October 1759, 1; and *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 25 October 1759, 2.

85. *Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal* 22 September 1760, 3; *New-York Mercury*, 22 September 1760, 2; *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 25 September 1760, 1; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 2 October 1760, 1; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 4 October 1760, 2.

86. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 17 March 1757, 1.

87. *Boston News-Letter*, 29 December 1712, 2. The Tuscarora War (1711-1715) ended in Tuscarora defeat. The tribe moved north and joined the Iroquois federation, referred to as the Six Nations in this research. For more on the Tuscarora War, see Thomas C. Parramore, *Carolina Quest* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 62-66.

88. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 31 July 1755, 1.

89. For examples of Cherokee assistance with English armies, see *Boston Gazette, or Country Journal*, 29 March 1756, 2; *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 23 March 1758, 3; *New-York Mercury*, 17 July 1758, 3. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 3 November 1757, 3; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 14 October 1756, 2. Dozens of newspaper accounts told of Cherokee assistance for the colonies from 1754-1758.

90. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 31 July 1755, 1.

91. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 1 May 1756, 1.

92. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 15 October 1730, 4.

93. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 24 June 1756, 1.

94. See, for example, *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 2 October 1756, extraordinary and 27 January 1757, 1. It should also be pointed out that the *South-Carolina Gazette* raised some doubt about Attakulakula in its 18 November 1756 edition by pointing out that the Cherokee had not kept his word during an attack for the English. The meeting between Governor William Henry Lyttelton and Attakulakula, reported in the 3 February 1757 *Gazette* cleared up the misunderstanding.

95.*South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 15 December 1759, 1.

96. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 26 May 1759, 2.

97. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 2 July 1759, 1. The *Gazette* had reported 24 June 1756, 2 that the Cherokee and Creek nations were at war.

98. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 4 August 1759, 3.

99. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 18 August 1759, 3.

100. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 8 September 1759, 3.

101. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 24 June 1756, 2.

102. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 22 September 1759, 2-3.

103. Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to Present* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1980), 228.

104. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 22 September 1759, 3. This news account referred to "lawless Vagabonds" moving into Cherokee territory from Northern Colonies.

105. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 1 November 1759, 2.

106. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 3 November 1759, 1.

107. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 8 January 1760, 1.

108. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 23 February 1760, 2. See, also, *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 3 April 1760, 1. Most colonial newspapers followed closely the Cherokee war after the reduction of Canada, as the *Maryland Gazette* entry above demonstrates. Almost all of the news reports that appeared in the *South-Carolina Gazette* were reprinted in the newspapers of the cities in this study. Citations used in this section of this research are to the *South-Carolina Gazette* only since all other newspapers copied their stories from it.

109. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 10 May 1760, 2.

110. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 15 March 1760, 2-3.

111. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 7 June 1760, 2.

112. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 23 August 1760, 2.

113. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 4 October 1760, 2.

114. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 7 March 1761, 2 and 21 Marech 1761, 2.

115. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 18 July 1761, 2.

116. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 19 December 1761, 1.

117. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 15 September 1763, 2; and *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 24 Septmber 1763, 1.

118. Preliminary reports that peace was at hand appeared as early as 17 January 1763 in the *Boston Gazette*. A preliminary copy of the peace document ran in the paper on 21 February 1763. The definitive peace treaty appeared on 23 May 1763. The other newspapers ran either identical or similar stories during the same time period.

119. Colonial newspapers were consistent in the spelling of Pondiac. In every news items uncovered concerning the chief, his name was spelled Pondiac, rather than Pontiac. For a full account of Pondiac's war, see Howard Henry Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

120. Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance*, 35-36.

121. *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), 20 June 1765, 2.

122. See, for example, Pete Steffens, "Franklin's Early Attack on Racism: An Essay Against a Massacre of Indians," *Journalism History* 5 (1978): 8-12, 31.

123. *Providence Gazette; and Country Journal*, 8 July 1775, 3.

124. *South-Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), 17 October 1775, 2.

125. *Pennsylvania Evening Post* (Philadelphia), 5 September 1775, 4.

126. From 1754 to 1760, the number of newspapers in America increased 73 percent, from eleven English language newspapers to nineteen. At the same time, the population of the British American colonies increased by just 36 percent, from slightly more than 1.17 million inhabitants to slightly more than 1.59 million. Newspapers grew at twice the rate of the American population. Newspaper figures are based on personal research and Edward Connery Lathem, comp., *Chronological Tables of American Newspapers, 1690-1820* (Barre, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society & Barre Publishers, 1972). Population figures are taken from *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 1168. Population figures are based on the years 1750 and 1760. No figures are available for 1754.

“The Unfortunate Conflict in Far Off Asia”:

Three Black Newspapers View the Vietnam War, 1967

by

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America's wars have always posed special questions for black Americans. To people who until the bugles sounded often lived with unrewarded hope and little opportunity to share in the American dream, mobilization brought expectations both from within their communities and from the mainstream. Their nation's military involvement held the promise of new opportunities and hopes that by participating in the wars, black Americans could gain fuller participation in political and civic life when peace was restored.

The outbreak of war abroad often has highlighted a hard irony that the risks for the black American soldier in battle sometimes were not much more grave than the risks he might encounter back in the nation for which he was fighting. Moreover, that many of those wars were being fought on behalf of the white-dominated society against other people of color was not lost on these minority participants.

The black-press arguments over participation in white America's wars have always reflected larger discussion of the role and future of the black community, and whether blacks should seek fulfillment and equality through assimilation into the mainstream; accommodate the status quo and accept second-class citizenship; or seek liberation through some form of actual or symbolic separation or nationalism. Each of America's wars has put the discussions and the options in high relief.

As Clyde Taylor has commented:

> African-American History ... has to be cut up, tagged, and dated to the rhythm of American wars -- wars that

> Black people had no voice in starting, or settling. ... The American Revolution set loose free Negroes in the North but constitutionalized slavery in the South. The Civil War *de*constitutionalized slavery and, in its Reconstruction phase, established the dynamics of modern Black-white relations. The imperialism of the Spanish-American War was the background to legalized segregation and a plunge into oppression so heavy that one Black historian called the period "The Nadir." Out of World War I came urbanization, a new self-image among some Blacks and fresher stereotypes among some whites. World War II nationalized the ideology of desegregation and integration.[1]

In the Vietnam War, however, important variables were different. It was the first war in which the black GI was not placed in segregated units, the first in America's history to be opposed as vocally and actively by so many citizens of all colors, and the first war in which America would not achieve victory. Moreover, America's war abroad in what one African-American editor called "the unfortunate conflict in far off Asia"[2] took place as black Americans at home were waging their most successful battles for civil rights.

Paradoxes in the African-American experience in the Vietnam era further fuel interest. For instance, David Levy says that black people tended to oppose the war "in greater than average numbers. ... According to the Gallup poll, in March 1966, 53 percent of black men approved of the war compared to 65 percent of white men, and 43 percent of black women approved compared to 54 percent of white women."[3] On the other hand, Jack Foner, among others, points out that Vietnam era re-enlistment among blacks was "at least twice as high as whites in the Air Force, Navy, and Marines, and about three times as high in the Army."[4] Thus, it is particularly ironic that virtually no scholarly attention has been paid to the attitudes of the black press toward the Vietnam War in the decade that also saw the race's greatest struggles and greatest gains in the twentieth century. As Ernest Obadele-Starks and Amikar Shabazz, among others, have suggested, "the history of blacks and the Vietnam War has barely begun to unfold, and many aspects have yet to be explored."[5] This paper begins to fill that gap in the black press record.

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[1] Clyde Taylor, "Black Consciousness in the Vietnam Years," in *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance*, ed. Clyde Taylor (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1973).

[2] "Dr. King's Inherent Rights," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 May 1967, 6.

For the black press, it was a very newsworthy year but little scholarly research has examined the work of those newspapers in 1967 or any other year during the Vietnam era. It was the year that Harlem's Adam Clayton Powell Jr. was ousted from his seat in Congress and Thurgood Marshall was nominated to be the first black U.S. Supreme Court justice. Black mayors were elected in Cleveland, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana. The first black astronaut was chosen, only to die later in the year when his jet aircraft crashed. In midyear, inner-city riots brought devastation and death to Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, and smaller disturbances erupted in a number of other cities. In 1967, too, major changes and schisms occurred in the civil rights movement's leadership, and the nature of Black Power was hotly debated by powerful blacks.

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[3] David W. Levy, *The Debate Over Vietnam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 111.

[4] Jack D. Foner, *Blacks and the Military in American History* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), 204.

[5] Ernest Obadele-Starks and Amikar Shabazz, "Blacks and the Vietnam War," in *The Vietnam War: Handbook of the Literature and Research*, ed. James. S. Olson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 319.

Also in 1967, starting in February, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. made a series of appearances that for him fused the civil rights and peace movements, bringing condemnation from others in the civil rights movement. Meanwhile, America's troop commitment climbed above half a million men in Vietnam,[6] nearly 56,000 of them black,[7] and opposition to the Vietnam War continued to mount. Bernard Nalty notes that with 295,000 black people serving worldwide in the United States armed forces, "By 1967 the proportion of blacks in the armed forces stood at 9.9 percent," and approached the proportion in United States society overall.[8] However, for a variety of reasons more blacks were being drafted and the casualty rates among black soldiers in Vietnam were reported to be higher.[9] From 1961 through 1966,

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[6] Stewart Burns, *Social Movements of the 1960s: Searching for Democracy* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), 72.

[7] Romero, Patricia W., ed., *In Black America. 1968: The Year of Awakening* (Washington, DC: Pioneer Paperbook, 1969), 530.

[8] Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 289.

[9] Although many critics agree generally on the percentages of black GIs involved, the interpretations vary. James S. Olson notes that black men were drafted beyond proportion and had higher casualty rates "during the early years of the war." *The Vietnam War: Handbook of Literature and*

6,644 service members died in connection with Vietnam fighting, 1,060 or 16 percent of them black.[10] In 1967, the death toll for black soldiers was 1,192, or 12.7 percent, of the 9,378 hostile-action deaths.[11]

With a rising cost in men and resources, the risk that the war was diverting funds and government and public attention from civil rights initiatives at home alarmed many African Americans.[12] Among those who disliked the war policies were a handful of soldiers, several of them black, who during the year went to prison rather than obey orders for duty in Vietnam. In the most celebrated case, boxing champion Muhammad Ali, nee' Cassius Clay, refused to report for military induction and was indicted and sentenced.

Research, ed. James S. Olson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 34. Mark Salser puts the percentages at 16 percent of draftees but only 11 percent of the population, "primarily due to the inability of many blacks to receive deferments and the under-representation of blacks on local draft boards." Unskilled draftees were more likely to be assigned to infantry units and therefore incur higher casualties. Mark R. Salser, *Black Americans in Defense of Their Nation* (Portland, OR: National Book Co., 1992), 73. Bernard Nalty and Morris MacGregor call "widely held, though statistically erroneous" the notion "that the number of blacks dying in Vietnam was out of proportion to their number in the army or the general population. In fact, the Vietnam conflict was a poor man's, rather than a black man's, war." Bernard C. Nalty and Morris J. MacGregor, *Blacks in the Military: Essential Documents* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1981), 326.

[10] Romero, 530.

[11] Ibid.

[12] This concern emerged in many of the discussions and news coverage of debates among civil rights leaders. See, for instance, Robert S. Browne, "The Freedom Movement and the War in Vietnam," in Clyde Taylor, ed., *Vietnam and Black America: An Anthology of Protest and Resistance* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1973), 67.

In order to begin filling in the record of the black press response to the Vietnam War, this paper examines the editorial voices of three leading black newspapers in this pivotal year. The three papers are the *Chicago Defender*[13] and the weekly *Pittsburgh Courier*,[14] two publications with large circulations and long histories of influence among black Americans, and the weekly *New York Amsterdam News*. The *News*, described in 1982 by Arnold Gibbons and Dana Ulloth as having "enjoyed a growing credibility that has led it to acquire nearly national proportions,"[15] has been recognized as one of the most influential black newspapers in the second half of this century and a leader in black press activism.[16] Just how these key black newspapers looked at the Vietnam War offers insights into the state of the larger, continuing discussion of black aspirations and identity.

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[13] For this study, the weekend (national) edition of the *Defender* was examined for the entire year, and each daily *Defender* was examined for March, April, May, and June 1967.

[14] In 1966, John H. Sengstacke, owner of the *Defender*, purchased the *Courier*, and Sengstacke's group in this period was the largest of the black chains in number of papers and in circulation, according to Roland E. Wolseley. However, the Pittsburgh paper can be studied separately because it generally carried separate editorials from the *Defender* for the months studied here. Several times when the same editorials were used, the *Courier* ran a fuller version than appeared in the *Defender*. In the 1960s, both newspapers tended to be moderate to conservative in their editorial positions, Wolseley says. Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971), 72, 78.

[15] R. Arnold Gibbons and Dana R. Ulloth, "The Role of the Amsterdam News in New York City's Media Environment," *Journalism Quarterly* 59 (Autumn 1982): 451-455.

[16] Ibid.

The debates and the slogans associated with black participation in -- and opposition to -- America's wars have always reflected a larger, intense discussion among African Americans about their place in American society and how to achieve it. Press themes starting with Frederick Douglass in the Civil War promoted black participation in combat units as offering proof to whites of black courage and manhood, and such action was seen as promoting acceptance by whites and assimilation into the mainstream culture.[17]

That argument would be continued by W.E.B. Du Bois in *The Crisis* and Robert Vann of the *Pittsburgh Courier* in World War I,[18] Du Bois urging in his famous "Close Ranks" editorial that blacks put aside "their special grievances ... while this war lasts"[19] and Vann echoing Douglass that through exemplary service, black soldiers could prove their worth and advance the race on the homefront.[20] On the other hand, the discrimination experienced by black troops at the hands of the white military establishment, along with concern that so many of America's wars seemed to target foreign people of color, led to ambivalence and opposition in the black community to assisting in the war efforts. Notable in this perspective are John Mitchell's opposition to the Spanish-American War as one of imperialism against colored people in Cuba and the Philippines,[21] A. Philip Randolph's political opposition to World War I,[22] and the question in several black papers about war on the Japanese on the eve of World War II. In the main, however, the black press has supported the government's foreign policy and the country's wars.[23]

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[17] See, for instance, Julie Sullivan, "How Frederick Douglass Saw the Great Emancipator," *Media History Digest* 6.2 (1986): 56-61.

[18] Philip B. Dematteis, "Robert L. Vann," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Vol. 29, ed. Perry J. Ashley (Detroit: Gale Research, 1985), 354.

[19] J. William Snorgrass, "W.E.B. Du Bois," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Vol. 91, ed. Sam. G. Riley (Detroit: Gale Research, 1990), 101.

[20] Dematteis, 354.

In view of conditions in the United States and the nature of the Vietnam War, the black press of the 1960s and early 1970s might reasonably be expected to have been vigorous in speaking out against the war. Indeed, since the black press agenda of previous generations has sometimes anticipated white press initiatives, it might be expected that the black press of the United States in the '60s would be in the vanguard of media criticism of the war. However, the absence of analysis or even comment in the secondary record suggests otherwise.

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[21] Willard B. Gatewood Jr., "A Negro Editor on Imperialism: John Mitchell, 1898-1901," *Journalism Quarterly* 49 (Spring 1972), 43-50. Gatewood points out (p. 45) that "once war was declared ... Mitchell himself became, for the moment, at least, less vocal in his opposition." Under the banner of "No Officers, No Fight," however Mitchell created a national campaign to put black troops under the command of black officers (p. 46).

[22] Harry Amana, "A. Philip Randolph," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Vol. 91, ed. Sam. G. Riley (Detroit: Gale Research, 1990), 106.

[23] See, for instance, Lester Jones, "The Editorial Policy of Negro Newspapers of 1917-18 as Compared With That of 1941-42," *Journal of Negro History* 29 (January 1944): 24-31.

Traditionally, the black press has been the principal chronicler of African Americans in the United States military and during World War II the black press reached its peak circulation as black readers turned to black newspapers for the only available news of the African-American war effort at home and overseas.[24]

With the post-World War II decline in black press circulation influence,[25] accelerated in part by the civil rights movement and urban unrest that led to more coverage in the white press and the hiring of some of the top black journalists for the white newspapers,[26] the secondary sources on the black press and America's later wars and military incursions disappear. From what scholarly research exists on the black press during the 1960s and '70s, one might suppose that the black press opinion was virtually exclusively turned on the civil rights movement.[27] For instance, in a bibliography of mostly popular-press articles on blacks in the Armed Forces, Lenwood Davis and George Hill identify virtually no editorials in the black press during this period.[28] Other sources talk little of the black press in general and not at all about the black press and the Vietnam War.

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[24] Patrick S. Washburn, "The Black Press; Homefront Clout Hits a Peak in World War II," *American Journalism* 12 (Summer 1995): 359-366.

[25] Ibid.

[26] See, for instance, Henry G. LaBrie III and William J. Zima, "Directional Quandaries of the Black Press in the United States," *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (Winter 1971): 640-655; Henry G. LaBrie III, *A Survey of Black Newspapers in America* (Kennebunkport, ME: Mercer House Press, 1979).

[27] See, for instance, Charlotte G. O'Kelly, "Black Newspapers and the Black Protest Movement, 1946-1972," *Phylon* 41 (Winter 1980): 313-324.

Nevertheless, there *was* black protest of the Vietnam War. King's April 1967 criticism of the war was a particularly visible example of what for some time had been building in the black community.[29] But scholarly and popular attention suggests that the protest was at most episodic. Melvin Small notes that while Coretta Scott King and Ralph Abernathy spoke out at anti-war demonstrations, at some of the largest protests "blacks were not involved in any great numbers."[30] Small says that had the black anti-war protesters joined the white protests, the presence of Black Panthers and black nationalists could have hurt the anti-war movement.[31] Clyde Taylor says that the civil rights leaders feared fragmenting their movement should the focus be expanded to discussions of the war.[32] However, David Levy says that a number of major civil rights figures were already actively protesting the war:

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[28] Lenwood G. Davis and George Hill (comp.), *Blacks in the American Armed Forces, 1776-1983: A Bibliography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).

[29] In reporting results of an extensive Gallup poll of black Americans two years later, *Newsweek* magazine said, "The black backlash against the war is one of the most striking turnabouts since the 1966 poll: the notion that blacks ought to oppose the war because they have less freedom in the U.S. -- a 35 percent minority slogan then -- has become a 56-31 majority sentiment today. "Report From Black America," *Newsweek* 30 June 1969, 20.

[30] Melvin Small, *Covering Dissent: The Media and the Anti-Vietnam Movement* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 97.

[31] Ibid., 98.

[32] Taylor, 68.

> Repeated complaints about the institutionalized racism of American society tended to make some blacks more skeptical of appeals to patriotism and calls to defend the flag. Influential civil rights leaders -- Bayard Rustin, Floyd McKissick, Stokely Carmichael, and others -- argued that young blacks should be fighting for freedom in the United States and not in Vietnam. Some in the movement also feared that the commitment in Vietnam was diverting scarce resources from the social programs of the Johnson administration and that the war climate was inevitably strengthening those conservative elements in America that had so often opposed civil rights for blacks.[33]

The questions posed by these several analyses about the positions taken by black editors on the war and the growing unrest on the homefront frame the examination that continues in the next section.

Results

Throughout 1967, the *Chicago Defender*, *Pittsburgh Courier* and *New York Amsterdam News* regularly published news stories and photos of the Vietnam War. They published views on the war by columnists such as Roy Wilkins, Benjamin E. Mays, Whitney M. Young, Bayard Rustin, and Jackie Robinson, and, to a lesser extent, expressed their own opinions relating to the war on their editorial pages. As in previous wars, the black press coverage emphasized the participation of black soldiers in the war effort and included a mixture of success-and-example stories highlighting black accomplishments,[34] features and news items about individual black soldiers,[35] and reports of discrimination and unfair conditions encountered by the troops at home and abroad.[36] The Chicago and Pittsburgh papers published a comparatively large number of brief stories based on military public relations press releases about local black service members.

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[33] Levy, 112.

In contrast to the two Sengstacke publications, the *New York Amsterdam News* had noticeably fewer stories from the military's "hometown news" press releases, although some of these types of story still could be found.[37] Likewise, there was coverage of hard news events related to black solders and Vietnam, including occasional stories of individual casualties[38] and casualty rates,[39] but the coverage was sporadic. Late in the year, the newspaper carried a front-page photo of a black soldier convicted for refusing to obey orders and report for Vietnam duty,[40] but the front page also accorded space during the year for a story on two black cadets graduating from the United States Military Academy at West Point.[41] In sum, the Chicago, Pittsburgh, and New York black press offered readers coverage that differed from the mainstream press chiefly in that it focused on black people and was less given to battlefield reports and body counts. By no means could it be described as radical, by either contemporary or present standards.

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[34] Among other coverage, Sengstacke newspapers reporter Ethel L. Payne spent nine weeks in Vietnam and produced a series of reports on black service members that was carried in the daily and weekly editions of the *Defender*. Some of Payne's work also appeared in the *Courier*.

[35] See, for instance, "Gets Bronze Star: Tan Major Is Honored for War Efforts," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 18 November 1967, 2.

[36] See, for instance, Michael Williams, "A Plea From Vietnam," *Defender*, national ed., 20-26 May 1967, 1; "In Negro's Case: Services Still not 'Perfect'," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 16 September 1967, 1.

[37] See, for instance, "Private Joseph Army Signal Student," *New York Amsterdam News*, 12 August 1967, 44.

[38] See, for instance, "Staff Sergeant Reed Gets Silver Medal," *New York Amsterdam News*, 11 November 1967, 8. It may have been intentional that the headline omitted the salient fact that it was a posthumous award, although a photo cutline at the bottom of the story was captioned, "Honored in Death."

[39] See, for instance, "Three More Die in Vietnam," *New York Amsterdam News*, 18 February 1967, 1.

In 1967, thirteen editorials about or referring to the Vietnam War were published in the national edition of the *Defender*. In the four months encompassing King's anti-war speech in New York City and the climax of Muhammad Ali's draft induction case, the *Daily Defender* carried four editorials dealing with some aspect of the Vietnam War. The *Pittsburgh Courier* carried twelve editorials about or mentioning Vietnam during the year. Throughout 1967, just six editorials in the *New York Amsterdam News* were about or referred to the Vietnam War and the strongest of these was the front-page criticism of the Rev. Martin Luther King's anti-war speeches in April.

Editorially, although quick to challenge racism in the military,[42] the papers supported the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson, including the Vietnam policy, throughout the year. "We have stood with the president in his position to resist the spread of Communism in that part of the world," the *Courier* said on August 26. "We continue to do so."[43]

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[40] "Army Days. Disobedient GI Convicted," *New York Amsterdam News*, 18 November 1967, 1.

[41] "2 Graduate at West Point," *New York Amsterdam News*, 3 June 1967, 1.

The administration's policies sparked events that raised much debate among African Americans in 1967, in particular King's stand against the war and the prosecution of Ali for refusing to report for military service. In a series of appearances in March and April, King spoke out against the war on moral grounds and also because of the apparent drain the war posed on America's domestic programs[44] and the disproportionate service of black troops whose own homeland remained racked by racism. In spring 1967, *Freedomways* reprinted a speech King had given April 4, 1967, at Riverside Church, New York City.[45] King had said of his not-all-that-sudden change[46] in his activism that:

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[42] See, for instance, "Private Housing for the Military," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 12 August 1967, 6; "Wanted: Negro Generals," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 28 October 1967, 6; "McNamara On Race Bias," *Daily Defender*, 13 November 1967, 13.

[43] "Reason for Pause," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 26 August 1967, 6.

[44] Robert W. Mullen notes that "Many blacks compared the two billion dollars spent each month on the war with the small sums of money spent on the black community." Mullen, *Black Americans/African Americans: Vietnam Through the Gulf War* (Needham Heights, MA: Ginn Press, 1991), 2.

[45] Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Time to Break Silence." *Freedomways*, 7 (Spring 1967): 103-107.

> Perhaps the more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem.[47]

All three newspapers opposed King's position. In a front-page editorial, the *New York Amsterdam News* sharply criticized King. Acknowledging and "upholding his rights to make any observation and proposal as an individual," the newspaper nevertheless said "we do not think he should equate civil rights and the war at the same time."[48] The paper then set forth a list of arguments against King's stand, including:

> America is our country. We have no other and as citizens we are going to sink or swim as America goes. ... The American form of government to date, democratic, independent and capitalistic is still -- in our view -- the finest and has brought more progress in jobs, education, housing, justice and a higher standard of living than any other country on the face of the globe. ... When our country is in trouble, or involved, we must join in the battle -- whatever the cost -- since we share in all the benefits when the trouble is resolved. ... Even now, over 11 percent of the American soldiers

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[46] Adam Fairclough, among others, has pointed out that King's anti-war position did not spring full-blown in 1967. He noted that King "by 1965 ... already had made up his mind that American policy in Vietnam was -- and had been since 1945 -- morally and politically wrong." See, Adam Fairclough, "Martin Luther King, Jr., and the War in Vietnam," *Phylon* 45 (Spring 1984), 21.

[47] King, "Break Silence," 105.

[48] "Where We Stand," *New York Amsterdam News*, 15 April 1967, 1.

> in Vietnam are Afro-Americans and 16 percent of them are dying or being killed. We must support them.[49]

The editorial also stressed the efforts of President Johnson on behalf of minorities, saying "he has done more to right the wrongs that exist than any other president. And he has also tried harder."[50] Moreover, in closing the *Amsterdam News* strongly echoed Frederick Douglass' "Double Victory" call to arms in the Civil War in declaring:

> We must help our country fight this involved and tragic war. By so doing we will have done our part, and we will have an easier battle when it is over in getting what is rightfully ours. We cannot expect to have rights without the responsibilities that go with acquiring those rights.[51]

The editorial responses to King in the Chicago and Pittsburgh papers were respectful but opposed to his action. "We believe Dr. King is sincere, but at the same time, we say that he does not speak for all Negro America and besides he is tragically misleading them," the *Courier* declared.[52] Claiming King "denounces this country, and this country alone, in his utterances," the paper invoked national honor in saying:

> Certainly no sane person is for war. We are just as sure that officials in Washington would like nothing better than to have an end to this conflict at the earliest possible time. Yet the United States cannot walk out of this matter in dishonor, or, as it were, "abandon the schoolyard to the bully."[53]

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] "Dr. King's Tragic Doctrine," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 15 April 1967, 6.

[53] Ibid.

The *Courier* then spoke to the loyalty of black service members:

> Negro boys on the fighting front are reportedly dismayed at much of the draft-card burnings and other anti-war actions in this country. There is hardly any one of them who would rather not be at home, but according to this newspaper's Ethel Payne on-the-scene, to a man they are equally as determined to see this job through.[54]

The editorial also dismissed the argument that the war was draining millions of dollars that would otherwise be available to the domestic poverty program: "To suggest that a cessation of hostilities would automatically make a Congress, lukewarm to this domestic program, reverse itself is blatantly naive."[55]

A month later, the *Courier* developed its thesis that King was hurting the civil rights movement by having created "a controversy of unprecedented proportions since he switched his emphasis from civil rights to the unfortunate conflict in far off Asia."[56] The paper admonished, "He must be mindful of his great responsibility to the central cause of civil rights" and decried King's criticism of other black leaders for conferring with Johnson administration officials. "Would Dr. King have Negroes turn down this excellent opportunity for Negroes to make known their aspirations through direct dialogue at the seat of the nation's government?" the paper asked.[57]

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[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] "Dr. King's Inherent Rights," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 May 1967, 6.

The *Courier* argued for singleness of purpose from King, saying:

> Our criticism of Dr. King is specifically because he has mixed the matter of civil rights with the complex and confusing issue of foreign policy. And in so doing, he has caused some damage to the former, where the issue is so clear against the fuzziness of the latter.[58]

The *Defender* saw things similarly. Saying "there are duties higher than personal inclination," the paper declared "Dr. King has swept aside this consideration by an unwise insistence on identifying the war in Vietnam with the struggle for civil rights at home."[59] There is "glaring incompatibility between two vastly disparate issues: civil rights and civil war," the paper said, and King's "business is not to change America but to solve the problem of living in it and save the black masses from prejudice and unwarranted discrimination."[60]

The editorial added, "The civil rights business is yet unfinished, and there are too many unresolved phases of it for the leaders of freedom to dissipate their energies on matters irrelevant and beyond their control."[61]

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] "Dr. King's Leadership," *Chicago Defender*, national ed., 22-28 April 1967, 10.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

As King's anti-war sentiments were coming to a head, so was the collision of boxer Muhammad Ali and the Selective Service System. Ali, who went from Olympic boxing medalist to heavyweight champion, had become a Muslim in 1964 and sought conscientious objector status, contending military service was in violation of his religious beliefs.[62] His comment that "I ain't got no quarrel with those Vietcong anyway; they never called me nigger"[63] may or may not have influenced the rejection of his conscientious objector request, but when Ali refused to report for induction, he was indicted, tried, sentenced to five years in prison, and fined $10,000.[64] As soon as Ali was indicted, the World Boxing Association yanked his championship.[65]

In the Ali case, the Sengstacke papers spoke with one voice, sidestepping the fundamental morality of the war or a military draft but using the case to argue for more black people on local Selective Service boards. The editorial carried in both Chicago and Pittsburgh declared:

> Clay, or Muhammad Ali as he wishes to be called, and an increasing number of young men believe that the war in Vietnam is unjust. They have the option of going to jail in behalf of their moral convictions. Clay is willing to pay the price. Viewed from the point of morality and personal conscience, the choice is scarcely different from that faced by civil rights activists in their

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[62] Foner, 203.

[63] Levy, 112.

[64] Ali's conviction was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1974.

[65] Foner, 203.

> demonstrations against unjust laws upholding racial segregation.[66]

The papers called Ali's opposition to the war "a question on which there is ground for honest dissent," but they sharply criticized the hasty revocation of his heavyweight boxing title:

> The speed with which Cassius Clay was stripped of his heavy weight title even before he was indicted by a federal grand jury, leaves no doubt but that the World Boxing Association and the New York Boxing Commission were eager and glad to find an occasion to lift the crown from the brow of boxing's most colorful, and morally clean fighter since Joe Louis' days.[67]

In New York, a similar perspective was taken in the *Amsterdam News*, which editorialized against the inequalities of the draft boards and the speed with which Ali's title was withdrawn -- "Ali earned his crown in the ring. It is only there he can lose it"[68] -- but did not make a judgment about the position that led to Ali's indictment. "This is not to say the inclusion of Afro-Americans on our draft boards will insure the life of some tan soldier in Vietnam," the *Amsterdam News* said. "But at least it will give those who are drafted a feeling that they were chosen on the basis of need and not of color."[69]

Shortly afterward, the *Courier* reinforced its basic position: It could support a Vietnam draft that was fair to the black race through the administration of integrated local Selective Service boards. The *Courier* endorsed the stand of Mississippi NAACP field secretary Charles Evers who, it said:

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[66] "Cassius Clay's Case," *Chicago Daily Defender*, 15 May 1967, 13; "Cassius Clay's Case," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 27 May 1967, 6.

[67] Ibid.

[68] "Still Champion," *New York Amsterdam News*, 13 May 1967, 16.

[69] "Something Else," *New York Amsterdam News*, 13 May 1967, 16.

> Is absolutely right when he maintains that Negroes have no right to be sent off to the wars from boards where there is no representation. ... He refuses to link the draft with the troubles in Vietnam, rather he avows that Negroes of Mississippi will serve, if properly drafted.[70]

In 1967, President Johnson was many things to many people. To some in the peace movement, he was the commander-in-chief in an immoral, unwinnable war that was destroying America along with the Vietnamese countryside. To many in black America, however, Johnson deserved gratitude and support as the president who brought them the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The editorial voice of the *Amsterdam News* was squarely in support of President Johnson at this time. "We believe those who spoke out against the President [after his 1967 State of the Union message] were premature and illy advised," the paper told its readers early in the year. "Stand by him. He has stood for you."[71] The editorial asserted "President Lyndon B. Johnson has been responsible for the passage of more controversial progressive legislation than any president in history. And this legislation has been for the benefit of minorities, the aged, the sick, the underprivileged -- the forgotten." It added, "All these programs, under the Johnson administration, were aimed towards translating the long-held hopes of Negro Americans -- and other minorities -- into actual law."[72] There was no mention of Vietnam.

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[70] "Defiance of the Military Draft," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 20 May 1967, 6.

[71] "Unwarranted Attacks," *New York Amsterdam News*, 21 January 1967, 16.

In late November, the *Amsterdam News* again rallied to Johnson, praising him for a strong stand on what were called "'storm-trooper tactics' used by some Vietnam dissenters."[73] The editorial declared that "Mr. Johnson served notice that he is not intimidated by the growing hue and cry against how we are conducting the war in Vietnam." The editorial concluded, "The President was in rare form. We hope to see more of the same."[74]

In 1967, when it appeared likely Johnson would seek re-election the next year, the *Defender* predicted success that would come in part from the black vote. "The Negro position in the American society has improved more under the Johnson Administration than all the previous administrations in our history," the paper said. "And Negroes are neither ungrateful nor forgetful. The black vote will be recorded with sufficient strength to insure Mr. Johnson's re-election, if he runs again."[75]

Even Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara received praise from the black press. Calling him "a brilliant Secretary of Defense," the *Amsterdam News* noted his efforts to create equal opportunity in military housing and skills programs offered to service members that were "especially meaningful to black military personnel, many of whom are in the services simply because America's civil society has no place for them."[76] Said the paper, "His leaving is a loss factor to the black military man."[77]

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[72] Ibid.

[73] "A Strong LBJ," *New York Amsterdam News*, 25 November 1967, 14.

[74] Ibid.

[75] "Will Negroes Fail LBJ?" *Chicago Defender*, national ed., 28 October-3 November 1967, 10.

The *Chicago Daily Defender* also lavished praise on McNamara when his resignation was announced. It called him "the most effective secretary the Defense Department has ever had" and "a man with an educated social conscience" who "has done more to desegregate housing accommodations for Negro servicemen than any of his predecessors. ... No secretary before him has had the temerity to stand up for the black soldier."[78]

The *Courier's* editorial was more extensive than the Chicago or New York papers had offered and its language was more restrained. "We do not intend to debate the relative merits or demerits of Robert S. McNamara and his departure from the government," the *Courier* said. "We do wish him well. ... We are acutely aware of some of the programs he instituted during the seven years he served the office."[79] The initiatives it hailed included affirmative action programs in the military, ending discrimination in military housing, skills programs for service members, and expanding minority opportunity and advancement in the services. In the selection of a successor to McNamara, the *Courier* said, "The programs involving Negro Americans serving their country, limited as they may be, must not be allowed to falter."[80]

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[76] "Good Man Gone," *New York Amsterdam News*, 16 December 1967, 16.

[77] Ibid.

[78] "Robert S. McNamara," *Chicago Daily Defender*, 30 November 1967, 17.

[79] "McNamara's Leaving," *Pittsburgh Courier*, 9 December 1967, 6.

Analysis and Conclusion

Examination of the *Chicago Defender*, *Pittsburgh Courier* and *New York Amsterdam News* for 1967 dispels the notion that the black press may have been silent about Vietnam in their editorial pages during the war. Besides news coverage and syndicated black columnists, opinion and analysis were carried as editorials at various times and in varying frequency by the three newspapers throughout the year studied. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that editorial comment continued as the issues became more acute in the ensuing years of the Vietnam era. However, the content of these 1967 editorials is anything but strident and by no means could they be called unilaterally anti-war or even in opposition to the United States government and its policies.

Thus, of the three traditional perspectives reflected at various periods in the black press in America -- assimilationist, accommodationist or isolationist/emigrationist/nationalist -- the three influential black papers demonstrated primarily an assimilationist focus. They argued, as the black press in

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[80] Ibid.

America invariably has, for an end to discrimination and racism on the homefront and in the military and held out the hope that full and honorable black participation in war would facilitate full participation in an American society at peace. Notwithstanding alternative discourse available to them and their readers in other black publications[81] and in the streets,[82] these newspapers remained supportive of the government and, either directly or by what they did not say, stood behind its foreign policy during this period. In steadfastly backing President Johnson and his defense secretary, Robert McNamara, and even in editorials supporting the national draft -- so long as its local boards were integrated -- the black press of 1967 showed a conservatism and acquiescence bordering on accommodationist. Nevertheless, the predominant call in these editorials was for fairness and the opportunity of the black race to participate fully and equally in American life, even if it included the ultimate test: going into battle and facing death. The assimilationist finding is strengthened by the fact that it was the combination of social and economic opportunity offered black people in the military and the overriding concern for the civil rights movement's success that provided their stated justification for the newspapers' editorial opinions at this period.

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[81] The magazine *Liberator*, for instance, kept up steady criticism of the war throughout the period, as did the quarterly *Freedomways*, among other publications. See, for instance, Donald Jackson, "Unite or Perish," *Liberator*, February 1967.

[82] The *Defender*, in fact, ran two stories reporting black opinion on the war. Although the data's statistical precision is unclear, the first indicated "a small majority of Negroes are in favor of pushing the Vietnam War -- but ... a large minority have misgivings." Sam Washington, "Should We Stay in Asia? How Negroes Feel," *Chicago Defender*, national ed., April 1-7, 1967, 1. Later that month, the paper reported a second survey, in which black opposition to the war was said to be much higher. Sam Washington, "Negro Opinion on Vietnam. Majority Favor Pull-Out," *Chicago Defender*, national ed., 22-28 April 1967, 1.

Chester Pach says, "Throughout 1967 more people had disliked [President] Johnson's war policies than endorsed them."[83] That clearly is not true of the black editorialists studied here. If there actually were a disconnection between the editorial positions on the war and anti-war sentiment in the community, it may be that the black press of the Vietnam era was simply out of step with its intended audiences. For instance, Charlotte O'Kelly notes a growing separation between black press conservatism and black militancy in the early 1970s,[84] the period that saw the culmination of the Vietnam War era. Certainly there is some evidence in 1967 that many black citizens did not share their newspapers' enthusiasm for the war, the president, or the costs of supporting both.

Perhaps as interesting is an examination of the editorials of the three newspapers for what they don't say, the so-called strategic silences. During the Civil War, Frederick Douglass argued the need for a double battle:

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[83] Chester L. Pach Jr., "And That's the Way It Was: The Vietnam War on the Network Nightly News," in *The Sixties ... From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 109.

[84] O'Kelly, "Black Protest Movement, 1946-1972," 324.

against the Confederacy to free the slaves, but also against racism in the North and for enfranchisement of all African Americans. The theme was revisited in World War II, when "V" symbolized victory over the Nazis and Fascists. The black press took up the "Double V" to symbolize victory over the foreign enemies, but also victory over racism at home in the United States.[85] Unlike the "Double Victory" and "Double V" perspectives, in the Vietnam era what's missing from the black editors' assertions of support for the administration and participation in the war effort is a sense of winning anything on the battlefield. It is this that separates the editorial opinion of 1967 from, say, Frederick Douglass' "Double Battle" call or the *Pittsburgh Courier's* World War II "Double V" position, and may have presaged a change of heart as the war dragged on.

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[85] Patrick Washburn, "The Pittsburgh *Courier's* Double V Campaign in 1942," *American Journalism* 3.2 (1986), 73.

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History Division

The Muckrakers' Reign on *The American Magazine*, 1906-1911

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Muckrakers' Reign on *The American Magazine*, 1906-1911

John S. Phillips, an editor of *McClure's* and then *The American Magazine*, wrote in 1922, "The greatest single definite force against muckraking was President [Theodore] Roosevelt who called these writers muckrakers. A tag like that running through the papers was an easy phrase of repeated attack upon what was in general a good journalistic movement."[1] In a speech to the Gridiron Club on March 17, 1906, Roosevelt had likened the reform writers of the early 1900s to "the man with the muck rake" from John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress.* Then on April 14, 1906, at the laying of the cornerstone of the new office building for the House of Representatives, Roosevelt used the term publicly, and the "muckraker" label was established.[2]

Muckraking grew out of the discontent of the middle class with the industrial age that was leaving them behind. Historian, C. C. Regier wrote:

> Muckraking, in any sense of the word, was the inevitable result of decades of indifference to the illegalities and immoralities attendant upon the industrial development of America. . . .The control of mineral lands, of water power, or of municipal franchises might mean the accumulation of gigantic fortunes in a short time, and it was no wonder that sharp-eyed businessmen, eager for wealth and power, ingeniously evaded or flauntingly defied the inadequate and feebly enforced law of the land.[3]

Men such as John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan were accumulating the wealth, and the mood of the country was supportive of such business success.[4] America was the land of opportunity, and popular sentiment was against interfering with any man's efforts to succeed.

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[1] C. C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 198.

[2] Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers: New and Enlarged Edition of Crusaders for American Liberalism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc., [*Crusaders for American Liberalism*], 1939; University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 252.

[3] Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers*, 2-3.

[4] Ibid., 5-6.

But the accumulation of wealth by the few to the detriment of the many was breeding discontentment. With the advent of the popular magazine, a concentrated reform movement was launched that caught the interest of common people. Louis Filler, an historian of the era, explained that in 1902:

> Suddenly, there appeared in certain magazines a new, moral, radical type of writing by men and women who yesterday had been entirely unknown or had written less disturbingly. These writers savagely exposed grafting politicians, criminal police, tenement eyesores. . . . They defended labor in disputes which in no way concerned them personally, decried child exploitation, wrote pro-suffragist articles, and described great businesses as soul-less and anti-social.[5]

One such magazine was *McClure's* owned by Samuel S. McClure, a genius of ideas, and John S. Phillips, the editor and stabling force who knew which of the many ideas of McClure's to pursue. McClure was, Regier wrote, "eccentric, imaginative, enthusiastic" and he "slowly built up a staff that would round out his own qualities."[6] Beginning with his partner Phillips, he added Ida Tarbell for her biographies, Ray Stannard Baker as a journalist and short story writer, and Lincoln Steffens, a scholar and practicing New York newspaper man.[7] The beginning of the muckraking period is often defined by the January, 1903 issue of *McClure's* in which these three writers wrote the first of what was to become known as muckraking. In an editorial of the issue McClure wrote:

> We did not plan it so; it is a coincidence that this number contains three arraignments of American character such as should make every one of us stop and think. "The Shame of Minneapolis," the current chapter of the Standard Oil, Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's "The Right to Work," it might all have been called "The American Contempt of Law.[8]

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[5] Filler, *The Muckrakers,* 9.
[6] Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers,* 55-56.
[7] Ibid., 56.
[8] Ibid., 55.

With *McClure's* as a forerunner, muckraking had found a voice in the ten-cent popular magazine and an audience of common readers who could afford its cheaper price. As it grew, this reform movement not only had some of the best writers behind it, but these writers gained an esteem that is rare for those engaged in writing "literature of discontent."[9] Unfortunately, the popularity of the movement brought with it the bad as well as the good, and many strayed from the factual, thorough reporting that had defined the movement and became mired in sensationalism. Muckraking was at its height in 1906 when President Roosevelt, who generally was supportive of the reform writers, became irritated and gave his "muckraking" speeches.[10] It was into this climate that the Phillips' Publishing Company was formed to begin the new editorship of *The American Magazine.*

The Phillips' Publishing Company took over the offices of *The American Magazine* on July 1, 1906, but the first number for which they were responsible appeared in October. It sold its interest in *The American Magazine* to the Crowell Publishing Company of Springfield, Ohio, on February 1, 1911. This study is interested in examining the issues of *The American Magazine* from October 1906 to March 1911 during The Phillips' Publishing Company's editorship of the magazine.

The Phillips' Publishing Company was run by the very muckrakers who had defined the term and *The American Magazine* was a venture intended to be the publication of their ideals. Their ideals made them leave McClures to begin *The American Magazine* and their ideals guided their leaving *The American Magazine* when they had lost editorial control.

Who were these men and woman who gave up lucrative positions at the successful *McClure's* to band together and strike out on their own? What were their goals and aspirations for *The American Magazine* and how successful were they at attaining them? What was the 'typical' *American Magazine* issue and how did it change over the years? This study will examine these questions by analyzing the issues of *The American Magazine* during this group's leadership and reviewing these years as presented in the autobiographies of Tarbell, Baker, Steffens and White.

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[9] Ibid., 22.
[10] Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 245.

Phillips' Publishing Company

The Phillips' Publishing Company was the result of a split within *McClure's* magazine. In the early months of 1906, McClure returned from a trip abroad with plans to begin a "$15,000,000 corporation to include a new magazine, a bank, a life insurance company, a school book publishing company and later with the expected profits, a settlement house and an ideal housing project."[11] Phillips and the writers saw this new scheme as a creation of an interest, the very thing they were working so hard against and they refused to be a part of it. Tarbell wrote in her autobiography, "As organized, it was a speculative scheme as alike as two peas to certain organizations the magazine had been battering."[12] This new development added to the increasing tension between Phillips and McClure over the editorship of the magazine and although they tried, no resolution could be found. The *New York Times* reported on May 11, 1906:

> S.S. McClure purchased yesterday all of the interest formerly held by John S. Phillips in McClure's magazine. . . . With Mr. Phillips go A. A. Boyden, former managing editor under Mr. McClure; Miss Ida Tarbell, Standard Oil's biographer; Ray Stannard Baker, censor of railroads and rebates, and Lincoln J. Steffens, who is an authority on political corruption in American cities.[13]

This group from *McClure's* soon discovered that *The American Magazine,* formerly *Leslie's Monthly* under the editorship of Ellery Sedgwick, was looking for a buyer. By pooling their resources and that of their friends, they were able to incorporate as Phillips' Publishing Company and purchase the magazine for $360,000.[14] On June 27, 1906, the *New York Times* reported that *The American Magazine* had been sold to J. S. Phillips and several former *McClure's* writers for "approximately $400,000." To this McClure's group was added Peter Dunne, famous for his Mr. Dooley columns, and William Allen White, the editor of the *Emporia Gazette*.[15] As the *New York Times* reported, "The officers are: John S. Phillips, President, J. Lincoln Steffens, Vice President; Albert A. Boyden, Secretary; D. A. McKinley, Treasurer."[16]

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[11] John E. Semonche, "The "American Magazine" of 1906-1915: Principle vs. Profit," *Journalism Quarterly*, 40 (1963), 36.

[12] Ida M. Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work: An Autobiography* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), 256.

[13] "J. S. Phillips Quits McClure Partnership," *New York Times*, May 11, 1906, 9:3

The Staff

Tarbell, Steffens, Baker, Dunne and White have all had lengthy biographies written about them, and four of the five wrote autobiographies. It is neither the scope nor the interest of this study to explore their lives, but it is necessary to gain a feeling for the personalities involved and the impressions each made on the others. Tarbell was the sole woman in the group and is considered by many the greatest of all of the muckrakers. She studied biology at Allegheny College and taught for two years before beginning her writing career. She had written biographies of Napoleon and Madame Roland and was already well-known for her Lincoln books when she was discovered by McClure. She increased her fame and her reputation as a thorough historian with her eighteen article series, *The History of Standard Oil* that she had spent five years investigating and writing.[17]

Baker described Tarbell as "the best of us." He explained, "No one could have been more exacting than she was as a studious inquirer, or more devoted to the truth of the matter, letting the chips fall where they might."[18] He noted that Dunne, speaking for Mr. Dooley, once remarked, "Iderem's a lady but she has the punch!"[19] Tarbell was forty-eight when they began the magazine venture and had just suffered the death of her father.

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[14] Semonche, "The *American Magazine* of 1906-1915," 37.
[15] Emporia, Kansas.
[16] "American Magazine Sold," *New York Times*, June 27, 1906, 7:5
[17] Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 103-5; Regier, *Era of Muckrakers*, 38.

Steffens was the most radical of the members of *The American Magazine* and was the first to leave the venture. He personally claimed and has been given credit for being the first muckraker for his work on the corruption of the American cities.[20] Steffens was from a well-to-do family and studied extensively abroad before returning to the United States, and after a struggle, finding a job as a reporter for Godkin's *Evening Post*. He had made a name for himself in the newspaper world as a reporter and a writer before McClure discovered him.[21] Steffens was forty years old when he became the vice president of the Phillips' Publishing Company. He had great hopes for *The American Magazine* when it began and was eager to make a difference in the world.

Baker was perhaps the most versatile of the writers and fully absorbed himself in any current project. He was born in Lansing, Michigan, and went to Michigan State University and then studied law and literature at the University of Michigan before beginning a career in journalism. Historian Filler wrote that as a journalist Baker was "known as the greatest reporter in America."[22] For his work on the labor question while at McClures, Filler asserted, "he gave the first authentic picture of labor racketeering that had appeared in print."[23] Baker was thirty-six when he joined *The American Magazine* adventure and was a major player in making it a success.

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[18] Ray Stannard Baker, *American Chronicle: The Autobiography of Ray Stannard Baker* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1945), 220.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Regier, *The Era of Muckrakers*, 59; Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 55.
[21] Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 91-93.
[22] Ibid., 87.
[23] Ibid., 88.

Dunne had been approached with an offer to join *The American Magazine* and as Tarbell wrote, "Rather to my surprise he came along, taking a desk in our cramped offices and appearing with amazing regularity."[24] Dunne had established himself as a Chicago newspaperman and by 1900 was already famous for his Mr. Dooley articles. Filler wrote, "He wrote about trusts and government with an impudence that few writers would have dared to attempt; his own 'Mr. Dooley' was of a social class--that of bartender--that only a bold journalist would have introduced to the American public."[25] His witty satire gave a much needed comic relief to the muckraking movement, without losing any of its bite.

Dunne's compatriots on *The American Magazine* had two overwhelming impressions of Dunne: he was one of the best thinkers of the day, and he was a compulsive procrastinator who would work to find distractions rather than sit down and write his column. Steffens related in his autobiography that one day as he walked into the offices, Boyden, the office editor, urged him to hurry past Dunne's door and to ignore any calls to talk; Dunne was working and would use any excuse to stop. Steffens walked past and was cussed as he failed to heed Dunne's calls. After allowing him to work for an hour or two, Steffens heard him moving around and walked in and after much grumbling Dunne explained what was wrong. His lined, flowered wallpaper had been replaced with a "plain, tinted paper" and "Now, doggone it, . . . there's nothing to count, no sums to multiply; I've just got to sit here doing nothing or--write."[26] Dunne was thirty-nine when he joined *The American Magazine* staff and was invaluable to the editorial content, not only contributing many Mr. Dooley articles, but also becoming largely responsible for the editorial page, *In the Interpreter's House.*

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[24] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 260.
[25] Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 58.
[26] Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), 537-538.

The other outsider who joined the *McClure's* group was White, the editor of the *Emporia Gazette.* He had gotten to know Phillips and the writers at McClure's when he had contributed to that magazine and had struck up a close friendship with Phillips.[27] White was well-respected in the field for his honesty, integrity and open admiration for the Mid-West.[28] He agreed to invest in and help edit the magazine through a long-distance relationship, while remaining the editor of his Kansas country town paper. Baker, in his autobiography, explained, "He came to the city when he wanted to come (bringing Mrs. White to take care of him), stayed as long as he wanted to stay, gave us no end of good suggestions fresh from the soil, worked out plans for new articles and stories, and then went back to Kansas where he belonged."[29]

The three men who remained behind the scenes, but were ultimately responsible for the content of the magazine were the editors: Phillips, Boyden and Siddall. Phillips had been a partner and an equal part in the success of *McClure's*. C. C. Regier explained that by pairing up with Phillips, McClure "had early found an associate who combined calmness, good judgment, and tact with no slight editorial gifts."[30] John Tebbel, in his history of American magazines, explained Phillips' role at *McClure's*: "Phillips not only kept the circulation and advertising departments running smoothly, but he performed the functions of a modern managing editor in keeping the editorial department on an even, efficient keel. He was a first-rate editor, as well as a businessman."[31] Phillips was the president of the new company that bore his name. A measure of his leadership and influence on the writers was evidenced by their willingness and eagerness to follow him when he left *McClure's*.

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[27] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 259-260.
[28] See the editorial announcement in the October 1906 issue of *The American Magazine* for a description of White and the other writers, 569-574.
[29] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 223.
[30] Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*, 56.
[31] John Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1969),177.

Tarbell explained, "We could not see the magazine without Mr. Phillips."[32] He was the boss and was instrumental in the direction *The American Magazine* was to take.

Boyden was the youngest member of the staff at age twenty-nine and was a managing editor well-liked by the writers.[33] He was fresh from Harvard when McClure found him and according to Tarbell, "at once made himself a place by his genius for keeping things going and his gift for sympathetic friendliness. . . . He was of the greatest value to the *American* in bringing together writers and artists who were attaching themselves to the new magazine."[34] Siddall also left *McClure's* with the group, and Baker in his autobiography praised "his extraordinary editorial perception of those qualities of human interest and timeliness which are the life blood of the popular magazine."[35] It is Siddall who replaces Phillips as the editor of *The American Magazine* upon Phillip's resignation of that post in 1915.

It was this group of well-known and respected writers and editors who began *The American Magazine.* Each of them could have struck out on their own and commanded the highest prices, and yet they banded together to produce their vision of the popular magazine.[36]

Goals and aspirations

The early days of *The American Magazine* were exciting ones for the group. Baker remembered, "What visions we had, what plans we made!"[37] Tarbell described "the gay unity of the group" and "the vigor and the steadiness" with which they began the magazine.[38] Their goals for the magazine were lofty ones.

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[32] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 258.
[33] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 220.
[34] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 261.
[35] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 220.
[36] Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*, 155.
[37] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 228.
[38] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 262.

Steffens wrote to his father in June 1906: "We are buying an old magazine which we propose to make the greatest thing of the kind that was ever made in this world--sincere, but good-natured, honest, but humorous; aggressive, but not unkind; a straight, hard fighter, but cheerful."[39] Similarly, Baker in his autobiography wrote, "We really believed in human beings: we really believed in democratic relationships. We 'muckraked' not because we hated our world but because we loved it. We were not hopeless, we were not cynical, we were not bitter."[40] Rather, the group had left their previous positions on principle, leaving behind the comfort of McClure's financial backing and were eager to make it on their own.

The group had purchased the magazine for $360,000. They were able to raise $200,000 of the purchase price by using their personal savings and soliciting friends and supporters.[41] Tarbell explained that they had "cut the salaries of *McClure's* in two, reduced our scale of living accordingly, and done it gaily as an adventure. And it had been a fine, fruitful adventure in professional comradeship."[42] Baker in his autobiography related the same tale and concluded, "I think there is nothing in this world so dizzily stimulating, so glamorous with faith and hope, as such an enterprise as ours; resting in complete confidence upon one's friends, devoted to what one considers high purposes, each sacrificing to the limit for the common cause."[43]

The editorial announcement that appeared in the October 1906 issue introduced the five writers-editors of the new concern and stated their intent:

> With such a group of associates the editor believes the new AMERICAN MAGAZINE may reasonably aim to become a lively and important journal, which keeps its temper, gets things somewhere near as they are, loves mankind, never attempts to puncture anything

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[39] Ella Winter, *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens: Volume I: 1889-1919* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938), 174.

[40] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 226.

[41] Winter, *The Letters of Lincoln Steffens*, 174; Semonche, "The *American Magazine* from 1906-1915," 37.

[42] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 299.

[43] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 228.

> which it is not convinced is a sham, and then does it with good nature and precision. . . . Though we have hardly attempted to express it, we have a vision of a magazine; it may never be realized, or it may be realized in part. But we conceive that in it no great thing of human interest would go unrecorded . . . that some glow of truth or humor or sentiment would play on every page, and that you would rise from reading with the mind enlivened and the heart refreshed and a confirmed belief that it was worth while living in this world and worth while living to make it better.
>
> So to the adventure! "If there be no vision the people perish."[44]

Historians have called this magazine "a unique experiment in periodical publishing,"[45] a magazine "that they quickly pushed to the front rank of muckraking organs,"[46] and of its value: "no episode in the whole movement is more indicative of the spirit behind muckraking at its best."[47] But, what did these writers and editors do with the magazine once it was under their power? And what was the nature of a "muckraking organ"?

Content Analysis

Magazines of the muckraking period included much more than the exposes' that receive the attention in the histories. Filler explained the disappointment a present-day reader of *McClure's* would likely feel after examining the magazine: "Is this the famous periodical--this magazine with its old-fashioned cover illustrations, its worthless verse, its reams of stories and articles having little if anything to do with muckraking? Is this the great trust-busting, reaction-smashing tribune of the people?"[48] Regier studied the content of the magazines of the 1890s that were pre-cursors to the muckraking era and explained, "The first thing one notes in examining the leading periodicals is the predominance of fiction." In *Harper's* he found an almost equal amount of fiction and articles. "*McClure's* printed almost as large a proportion of stories as Harper's, but it gave much more space to history and biography than it did to literature and art."[49] This trend of *McClure's* toward history and biography is largely responsible for its unpremeditated leadership in the muckraking movement that found its base in such works as Tarbell's *History of Standard Oil.* Of the first decade of the 1900s, Regier wrote, "And one suspects that the literature of the period reflects rather accurately the middle-class mind. Here and there were people who were awake to the evils of the social order, but it was easy for the majority to lull their consciences to sleep with thoughts of prosperity, aided by an occasional vicarious adventure into the land of romance."[50] Readers were willing to read about reform, but they also were looking for the pleasure of escape in their magazines.

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[44] "Editorial Announcement," *The American Magazine*, October 1906, 575.
[45] Arthur and Lila Weinberg, editors, *The Muckrakers: The Era in Journalism that Moved America to Reform--The Most Significant Magazine Articles of 1902-1912* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), xv.
[46] Filler, *Muckrakers*, 242.
[47] Regier, *Era of Muckrakers*, 155.
[48] Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 82.

A content analysis was made of *The American Magazine* issues from October 1906 to March 1911 and the following categories were calculated (See Appendix One):[51]

Total number of items:	This category included all of the articles, fiction and editorials of each issue. This amount did not include verse, illustrations or letters to the editor.
Total number of articles:	This category included all non-fiction selections, excluding editorials. It also became a compilation of the muckraking, the personal, and the miscellaneous articles.
Editorials:	This category included almost exclusively Mr. Dooley columns and *In the Interpreter's House.* On rare occasions, there were editorial inclusions from other humorists (similiar to a Mr. Dooley column), and these were included in this count.
Muckraking:	This was the most difficult and perhaps the most arbitrary to categorize, but it included all articles that were written about the history, the politics, or the state of America in an

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[49] Regier, *Era of Muckrakers*, 22-23.
[50] Ibid., 48.
[51] Appendix One is a table of the categories calculated.

	investigative and thorough manner. Biographies of people were excluded from this category unless the treatment was clearly analyzing their role in the status of American politics and life. Note: it did not need to be a negative treatment to be included.
Personal:	This category was designed to capture the number of personal accounts and story telling that were non-fiction, but written in a style that differentiated them from the articles. Autobiographical or first-person accounts, such as Grayson's "Adventures in Contentment" and "Letters from G. G." - real correspondence of a young woman reprinted, were included.
Miscellaneous articles:	This category included all of the articles that failed to fit into the muckraking or the personal categories. It gained significantly in number when the magazine began to publish monthly department articles on sports, interesting people and the theater.
Fiction:	This category included all fiction selections with the exception of poetry.

Along with this categorization of the contents of the magazine, a record of the serial offerings for the four-year period was kept.[52] In this way, it was possible to view the magazine contents over time and record the slow changes and shifts as well as the nature of the material that was worthy of longer treatment.

Findings

The American Magazine, as Regier's findings suggested, was an even mix of fiction and articles. The typical issue of *The American Magazine* from October 1906 until mid-1909 had twelve selections, two or three poems, and an array of pictures and illustrations throughout. Of the twelve selections, five or six would be articles with an emphasis on history, biography and politics; five or six would be fiction, primarily short stories with one or two continuing serials; and the remaining one or two would be editorial pieces, most typically a Mr. Dooley column and *In the*

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[52] Appendix Two is a listing of the serial offerings. This listing includes fictional and factual essays as well as insertions that became departmental features of the magazine.

Interpreter's House that almost always closed the issue. Each issue had approximately 100 pages of content not including the front and back advertising pages.

The first October issue was primarily fiction (eight selections versus the three articles and two editorials) as the new editors scrabbled around for material to put into their new venture. The issue began with an editorial announcement introducing the major members in the group and giving their "vision" of the magazine. They contributed from the beginning, and the October issue included *The Partnership of Society* by White, described by the editors as "a sermon of great sincerity and power--a modern lay sermon of right thinking;" a Mickey Sweeney investigative detective short story by Steffens, a much publicized "Mr. Dooley on the Power of the Press" by Dunne, and announcements for Tarbell's historical series on the tariff, and *Adventures in Contentment* by the unknown David Grayson.

Early offerings and some standard features

Baker, in his autobiography, explained that as they began the magazine Phillips asked them to dig up old projects, finish half-completed ideas and search for new ideas to fill the magazine. They wanted "to start the new magazine with a bang. It must be worthy of the announcements we were making."[53] Baker took this plea seriously and went home to the country to do just that. The result was his alter-ego, David Grayson and the series, *Adventures in Contentment.* Baker's autobiography rings with the pleasure and the ease with which he began this series about a man escaping from the rush of city life to live on a farm, taking time to enjoy his life and the nature around him. He wrote the first six chapters in "about three weeks" and, pledging Phillips to secrecy, sent them away with the request that he, "Take care of my child." Phillip's reply came in a telegram: "Manuscript a delight. Bully boy. Send more chapters. Best wishes."[54]

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[53] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 228-229.
[54] Ibid., 234.

Baker's authorship of the Grayson chapters remained a secret to the public, but the magazine staff knew almost at once. In a letter dated July 25, 1906, Steffens wrote to Baker, "Your David Grayson . . . is beautiful. . . .It did me good; it reminded me of art and right living and the love of man for man."[55] The first chapter appeared in October and the readers' response was immediate and appreciative. Baker received letters in great volume. He related in his autobiography, "So many of the letters I received seemed to imply that the design of the books was to give courage and hope; could I have been more effective if I had really had some such design? It was not, honestly, there."[56] *Adventures in Contentment* ran through 1907, and then a second series, *The Open Road* appeared in spurts during the first half of 1908. Grayson was no doubt a selling point for the magazine, but it was not the only contribution Baker was making.

He also was working on the investigative reporting for which he had become well-known. He became interested in exploring race relations in the United States after race riots broke out in September 1906 in Atlanta, Georgia. The series, *The Color Line,* was announced in the March 1907 issue with the explanation, "The American Magazine seeks in the present series of articles to set forth the real conditions on the Negro South and North, always, of course, in his relationship with the white people; to understand every point of view and to set down the facts without prejudice."[57] *The Color Line* ran from April 1907 to August 1907 in its exploration of the South and then continued in February 1908 through September 1908 looking at the Negro's life in the North. The series was met with approval, if not a stir for action. A biographer of Baker noted,

> He tended to share the dominant attitudes of his generation, but, as he was to find, his broad humanity and firm commitment to democratic principles in the matter were far from typical . . . . What he had really

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[55] Ibid., 239.
[56] Ibid., 243.
[57] Editorial Announcement, *The American Magazine*, March 1907, 193.

> hoped to do was to educate and energize his fellow Americans. This he had succeeded in doing in many of his muckraking articles, but his study of the Negro was praised and then forgotten, and no national sentiment developed.[58]

As Baker was exploring race relations, Tarbell was immersed in the tariff issue that had become "a matter of popular concern." It was decided that she would write a history of the tariff as she had of Standard Oil. She explained that she ran into two difficulties: first, "while in the case of Standard Oil I had spent my life close to the events, the tariff and its makers had never touched my life," and second, "another handicap was that my indignation was directed towards legal acts. . .The beneficiaries had the sanction of the law."[59] Nonetheless, she waded through the congressional records, spoke to former president Grover Cleveland, and wrote a six-part series on the history of the tariff that appeared in *The American Magazine* from November 1906 to June 1907.[60] This series was then halted so that she could work on an update on Standard Oil and the current law suit. This three-part series, "Roosevelt vs. Rockefeller," appeared from December 1907 to February 1908. The tariff series was continued in 1909 when the Payne-Aldrich bill renewed the tariff fight. As Tarbell described, it "finally gave a certain life to my narrative. Here was something belonging to the present, not something of the past."[61]

Dunne, meanwhile, was writing the occasional Mr. Dooley column and taking charge of the editorial column. Tarbell explained in her autobiography, "He came out strongest in his contributions to the department of editorial comment, which Mr. Phillips had introduced under the head of 'The Interpreter's House.' We were all supposed to contribute whatever was on our minds to this department. Mr. Phillips and Mr. Dunne did the censoring and dovetailing."[62] *In the Interpreter's*

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[58] John E. Semonche, *Ray Stannard Baker: A Quest for Democracy in Modern America, 1870-1918* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 210.
[59] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 267-268.
[60] Ibid., 269-271.
[61] Ibid., 271.
[62] Ibid., 260.

House was written in the style of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in which Roosevelt had found the "man with the muck rake." The introductory inscription under the title was a quote from *Pilgrim's Progress*: "So they drew on towards the house (the house of the Interpreter) and when they came to the door they heard a great talk in the house."

Pilgrim's Progress is an allegory of a Christian's travels to salvation. Through his travels, the Christian meets up with Pliable, Evangelist, Envy, Hope, and the Judge among others. In *The American Magazine*'s *In the Interpreter's House*, the major characters were reminiscent of the editors and writers of the magazine: the Observer, the Philosopher, the Poet, and the Responsible Editor (to name just a few). Also featured were characters that carry a voice of the opposition, for instance, Mr. Worldly Wiseman taken from *Pilgrim's Progress*, who "dwelt in the town of Carnal Policy, a very great town, and also hard by from whence Christian had come,"[63] and Candid Pirate who in the May 1909 issue told the Responsible Editor that "he has stopped his subscription to this magazine. . . 'You are a bunch of dreamers and idealists,' he told me."[64] It is mere speculation to believe that they chose this format in part to voice their opinions and to poke fun at Roosevelt and the name that had been chosen for them. It is just as likely that theirs' and Roosevelt's use of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was indicative of the widespread readership and popularity of the work.

The editorial department, *In the Interpreter's House*, addressed many current issues with a mix of wisdom, wit and humor. It, like no other part of the magazine, expressed the group's earnestness to find good in man, help direct their readers and improve the world in which they lived. Tarbell wrote that Dunne saved the December 1906 Christmas issue. She explained, "We had each of us broken forth in lament for the particular evil of the world which was disturbing us, offering our remedies." Dunne concluded the piece:

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[63] John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678; Chicago: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1964), 24.
[64] "In the Interpreter's House," *The American Magazine*, May 1909, 102.

> It seems to me that we are serving up a savory Christmas number . . . a nice present to be found in the bottom of a stocking. . . . You cannot go to the Patent Office in Washington and take out a patent that will transform men into angels. The way upward, long and tedious as it is, lies through the hearts of men. . . . Let us close down our desks for the year. If you want to find me for another week I will be found in the wonderful little toy shop around the corner.[65]

The subjects and issues that appeared on the back-page editorial, *In the Interpreter's House,* is the best reflection of what the editors believed to be the important topics of the day. Often, not one, but two or three opinions were expressed, and both sides of an issue were given equal consideration, although one side, naturally, got the last word.

In the prospectus for 1909 printed in the December 1908 issue the editors wrote, "*In the Interpreter's House* is the freshest and most interesting form of editorial expression in current journalism, so we have been told probably a thousand times. It is written by a group of people who not only have a first-hand knowledge of the day's events, but a background of wide acquaintance with men and affairs."[66] Subjects ranged from attacking socialism to rejecting Mr. Worldly Wiseman's plan of patronage to discussing the temperance issue and the anti-vivisection movement. In some issues, it was used as a forum to speak directly to the readers about the direction the magazine was taking or to defend an article that had received negative mail or press. For instance, in the August 1909 issue the editorial ran a subhead, "In Defense of Pugilism" discussing the new addition of sports to the magazine's offerings.[67] Likewise, in the September 1909 issue the editorial defended Tarbell's criticism of the city of Pittsburgh. The editorial began: "The city of Pittsburgh, judging from her press,--began the Responsible Editor--is highly incensed at that member of this household who at our May meeting called attention to the two extremes of her tariff-made prosperity."[68] *In the Interpreter's House* reflected the topics utmost in the minds and hearts of *The American Magazine* staff, and Dunne is often given the credit for making it the success that it was.

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[65] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work,* 260.

[66] "The American Magazine for 1909," *The American Magazine,* December 1908, 17.

[67] "In the Interpreter's House: In Defense of Pugilism," *The American Magazine,* August 1909, 414.

If *In the Interpreter's House* reflected *The American Magazine* staff, *The Pilgrim's Scrip* reflected the readership. *The Pilgrim's Scrip*, subtitled, *Letters, Comments and Confessions from Readers of the Magazine,* began in September 1907 with a letter from "a woman who is connected with a prominent college in the middle west" titled, "The Rise in the Cost of Living."[69] This letter sparked replies and readers began to correspond with each other and the editors through the pages of the magazine. As it became a standard edition to the magazine, the editors included praise and complaints about the various articles and selections within the magazine. *The Pilgrim's Scrip* offers a profile of the readership of the magazine that was solidly middle class. For instance, the December 1907 *Pilgrim's Scrip* included a letter written by a gentleman from New York describing "a long talk with our washerwoman about the cost of living, as she finds it," a letter from "a professor in a middle western college" and yet another from a self-described "graduate of the largest university in the country" who had a wife who attended "one of the large and expensive finishing schools."[70]

A variety of articles and topics gained the praise and criticism of readers, but the two topics that dominated the *Pilgrim's Scrip* over the four-year span was the cost of living and religion.[71] It is not possible to determine if the *Pilgrim's Scrip* accurately reflected the volume and tone of all of the mail that *The American Magazine* received, but there are indications that the editors attempted to print both praise and criticism. In the October 1909 issue *The Pilgrim's Scrip* began with the editorial comment, "Interesting letters about the church continue to pour in--letters praising our articles, and letters criticizing them. This month we are printing a number which present the other side of the case stated by 'An American Woman' in our August number."[72] The letter from "An Average Preacher" is a diatribe against both the article and the writers of "Frank Letters." An excerpt read, "He is a sorry sort, indeed, who cannot now-a-days have his little fling at the church and the preacher in public print."[73] It is impossible to determine how representative the printed material was to all of the letters written to the magazine or to know how many of the readers believed as a clergyman did in praising Tarbell's criticism of Pittsburgh. He concluded, "I do hope that the American Magazine may continue to champion the cause of the right and the common people. While I am writing I want to congratulate you on the kind of magazine you are giving us. I wish that it might be read in every home in our land."[74]

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[68] "In the Interpreter's House," *The American Magazine*, September 1909, 517.
[69] "The Pilgrim's Scrip," *The American Magazine*, September 1907, 554.
[70] "The Pilgrim's Scrip," *The American Magazine*, December 1907, 220-224.
[71] Religion became a dominant subject because of a series of articles by Baker entitled, *The Spiritual Unrest*. The series ran in *The American Magazine* from December 1908 to December 1909.

Difficulties and Steffens' Departure

The readership of the magazine improved slightly over time, but the circulation remained between 250,000 to 300,000 readers over the four years of Phillips' Publishing Company ownership. *Ayer's American Newspaper Annual and Directory* reported circulation figures of 250,000 in 1907, 280,000 in 1908, down slightly to 267,339 in 1909 and back up to 287,181 in 1910.[75] Unfortunately, finances continued to be a problem for the magazine. The financial panic of 1907 was damaging to the company which was still in debt from the purchase price.[76] But, as historian John E. Semonche wrote, "Most distressing of all was the constant shortage of working capital, for a magazine often must expend its resources far in advance of expected profit."[77] Phillips returned to "one of the magazine's most enthusiastic supporters, William Kent the millionaire reformer from California," who was willing to help, but was hesitant to invest too much.[78]

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[72] "The Pilgrim's Scrip," *The American Magazine*, October 1909, 659.

[73] Ibid.

[74] "The Pilgrim's Scrip," *The American Magazine*, July 1909, 308.

[75] Ayer's American Newspaper Annual and Directory; 1880-1971.

[76] The Panic of 1907 was the result of a shaky stock market and widespread speculation trading. One failure perpetuated rumors of the unsteadiness of the banks causing a run and when one of the largest

Another early problem was Steffens' dissatisfaction with and eventual departure from the venture. The reason for his leaving apparently stemmed from his ego and his principles. Steffens did not like nor agree with the editing of his contributions to the magazine. He wrote in his autobiography,

> The editing of the *American Magazine* by a group of fellow writers was a scattered control which was more cautious and interfering than S. S. McClure dictatorship. We all had been a unit against S.S. and we could disobey him, the lone boss. I rarely let him influence me against my judgment. All the writers on the editorial board of our own magazine took an interest in what I was writing, and they had an appeal that McClure's lacked.[79]

Tarbell in her autobiography remembered,

> A few months after we started Lincoln Steffens withdrew. He objected to the editing of his articles, demanded that they go in as he wrote them. The same editorial principles applied to his productions that were applied to those of other contributors. The editorial board decided that the policy could not be changed and accepted Steffens' resignation.[80]

But, beyond not liking his material edited, Steffens explained that he "was asked to 'go easy' at first because we were just starting and needed friends. . . . And I noticed, with some pain, shame, and lying denials to myself, that I was going easy. All by

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banks in America, the Knickerbocker Trust, had to close its doors, the panic began. J.P. Morgan led a united group of financers to end the run, but the depression and threat that followed left an unstable financial environment. For more detailed information, see Filler, 307-319.

[77] Semonche, "The *American Magazine* from1906-1915," 38.

[78] Ibid., 38-39.

[79] Steffens, *Autobiography*, 575.

[80] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 297.

myself, without any outside influence, I was being bought off by my own money, by the prospect of money."[81] Therefore, Steffens wrote, he resigned.

Tarbell offered another reason for Steffens' dissatisfaction by explaining his growing conviction that socialism was the answer. She related a conversation she had with Steffens in which he asked her if they should not make *The American Magazine* a socialist organ. She wrote, "I flared. Our only hope for usefulness was in keeping our freedom, avoiding dogma, I argued. And that the *American* continued to do."[82] Semonche also explained the strain included the rest of the staff's belief that Steffens was not pulling his weight. He reported that Dunne in a letter to Kent on June 3 wrote in reference to Steffens, "We don't need any sleeping partners in this concern." In February 1908 the magazine bought out his interest.[83] Both sides had determined that it was best for him to leave, but he remained a friend and an occasional contributor to the magazine.

The latter years and change

In the years from 1906 to 1911 muckraking saw many shifts in popularity. It was strong in 1906 when *The American Magazine* began, but it dwindled down by 1908 and seemed to be on its way out. Then, the Taft administration, the activities of the insurgents in Congress and tariff legislation revived muckraking and sustained the literature of exposure through 1909 and 1910. The year 1911 was again a high point, but by 1914 any remnants of muckraking were gone.[84] *The American Magazine* attempted to relate to these changes and to the mood of its middle-class readers.

The largest shift in the magazine coverage came in mid- to late 1909 as the magazine attempted to broaden its base of coverage. In May 1909 an article on baseball appeared and soon there was a monthly sports article. Then in October 1909 an *Interesting People* section was added. Each month, the section included five or six one-page biographies with a full-page illustration of each person featured. A variety of people were included. For example, in June 1910 the men and women featured were David Starr Jordan, a professor of biology; Maude Miner, head of Waverly House in New York City; Edward Trudeau, a physician; Erman Ridgway, publisher of *Everybody's* magazine; Henry Davison, a "young blood" in the banking house of J. P Morgan; and Bishop Charles Williams.

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[81] Steffens, *Autobiography*, 575.
[82] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 298.
[83] Semonche, "The American Magazine from 1906-1915, 38.
[84] Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*,194.

Another section that began to appear regularly was *Plays and Players*, which began in September 1909. Written in a large part by Walter Prichard Eaton, such articles as "Where We Get Our Plays," "What the Players Earn," "Plays that Make People Think," and "The Extension of Opera in America" appeared from November 1909 to February 1910. One other addition worth mentioning that began at roughly the same time was the inclusion each month of a prayer by Walter Rauschenbusch of the Rochester Theological Seminary. Baker had met Rauschenbusch while researching and writing his series, *The Spiritual Unrest*, and he admired him and his philosophy.[85] The prayers were most typically printed on the inside of the back cover and were specific to an occupation. For instance, prayers were written for public officers, lawyers and working men.

The changes toward these regular departments did not, for the most part, replace other selections. In October 1909 when most of these changes began, the number of total items per magazine jumped from twelve to fifteen or sixteen. The price of the magazine was also changed from ten cents to fifteen cents sometime between 1909 and 1910.[86] It is likely that the editors began these departments to fill out the pages of the magazine and to convince the readers that with the new price they would be receiving additional material.

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[85] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 256.

[86] The exact issue that this change occured is not known because a large portion of the issues available for this research were in bound volumes that had a complete volume title page and table of contents, but did not have the front covers, advertising, or table of contents for each of the included issues. The most likely time for a change in price would be with the new year because of the number of yearly subscriptions.

While these new departments were beginning to appear, Baker's series, *The Spiritual Unrest* was running and receiving considerable attention. Tarbell also was continuing her tariff series in light of the renewed interest in tariff legislation that was currently in Congress. White's six-part series, *The Old Order Changeth,* began in January 1909. The 1909 prospectus of the magazine explained:

> We have been going through a period of agitation and discussion, almost of revolution; in the confusion of combats, local and national, involving political and economic issues, few have any definite idea as to what has been gained or lost. We need just such a clear, wise and humanly sympathetic writer as Mr. White to tell us where we have got to, what is the result of it all.[87]

One muckraking series that began in October 1909 was advertised in the magazine: "Barbarous Mexico: A series of articles in which important facts about despotism and slavery in that unhappy country are reported for the first time and in which the author narrates thrilling personal experiences."[88] The series was written by John Kenneth Turner, but after the first three, his articles ended and were replaced by other writer's articles that continued on the theme of slavery. Turner wrote an article in the socialist *Appeal to Reason,* accusing *The American Magazine* of stopping his articles because of pressure from advertisers.[89] *The American Magazine* vehemently denied this charge in its August issue and Semonche related that in a letter to Kent, Boyden "said that Turner was simply unreliable and that the staff had to work for two years in an effort to make the first three articles sound."[90] Semonche asserted that the handling of this Mexican series hurt the reputation of

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[87] "The American Magazine in 1909," *The American Magazine*, December 1908, 9.
[88] "Barbarous Mexico," *The American Magazine*, October 1909, 523.
[89] Semonche, "The American Magazine from 1906-1915," 40.
[90] Ibid.

The American Magazine: "The suspicion was abroad that perhaps the magazine was pulling its punches."[91]

Selling the magazine

The magazine was doing well, but had never fully recovered from the debt with which it began. The embarrassing Mexico series and the continued financial uncertainty was apparently humiliating and frustrating to Phillips. According to Semonche, "He [Phillips] conferred with the rest of the staff and then agreed to sell *The American Magazine* to a rapidly growing and prosperous enterprise, the Crowell Company."[92] The *New York Times* reported on February 2, 1911, that the Crowell Publishing Company of Springfield, Ohio, had purchased *The American Magazine*. The article was primarily about the possibility that it was a sale to a trust to silence the muckrakers. It stated:

> In magazine circles, where it had been rumored for several weeks that the American Magazine was to change hands, there were stories to the effect that the Trusts, at last, were looking after the "muckrakers" and had decided to gather in their centers of publicity. "Nothing is farther from the truth, said an officer of the Phillips Publishing Company. . . . We simply recognize the fact that this is an era in which all forms of enterprise are moving to larger and larger units. We got a chance to move into a large unit. We accepted it. . . . instead of reaching 300,000 readers, we can now reach 3,000,000 readers through our new allies in the publication field."[93]

Further speculation arose three days later when it was discovered that a partner in the J. P. Morgan Co. was a partner in the magazine firm.[94] The majority of the staff, as stated in the first article remained with the magazine for the next few years. Semonche stated that the arrangement worked well for a year before Baker ran into opposition from the new leadership in March 1912. But, with persuasion from

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[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] "Gets American Magazine," *New York Times*, February 2, 1911, 1:2; The allies referred to are the *Women's Home Companion* and *Farm and Fireside*, two successful publications that Crowell owned.
[94] "Partner of Morgan in Magazine Firm," *New York Times*, February 5, 1911, 7:1.

Tarbell and Phillips, Baker continued until the changes and the editorial policy became unpalatable to the old muckrakers, and they resigned in October 1914. After some persuasion, Phillips remained as an editorial consultant to the new editor from the older group, Siddall, but the rest of the group left and began other pursuits[95]

The autobiographies of Tarbell and Baker have confused the historical record of when the magazine was purchased by Crowell because both wrote that as soon as the magazine was sold, they resigned. Tarbell, writing about the lack of money and the subsequent sale: "The upshot was that in 1915 the *American* was sold to the Crowell Publishing Company. The new owners wanted a different type of magazine, and John Siddall . . . was made active editor. . . . As for me it was soon obvious there was no place for my type of work on the new *American*."[96] Baker wrote, "I saw the control which had seemed to be firmly in our group of friends sold to a publishing company far more strongly financed than we were or could ever hope to be. . . . I could see, or thought I could see, that our old freedom of complete expression as writers could not be maintained. I resigned at once."[97]

Conclusion

This group of well-intentioned and principled muckrakers ran the magazine without interference from October 1906 to March 1911. Were these writers and editors successful in attaining the goals they set for themselves at the beginning of the adventure? Yes, as much as such goals were attainable. In November 1910 the editors devoted *In the Interpreter's House* to a review of the progress they had made in their four years of leadership. They concluded: "You do not work out an ideal in four years. We have not, but we are more convinced than ever that the things we wanted to be are still the best things in the world to work for, and if we are a longer way from achieving them than we would like, we are nearer than when we began."[98] The magazine addressed many of the political and social issues of the day with series such as Baker's *The Color Line* and *The Spiritual Unrest*, Tarbell's tariff history and studies, and White's *The Old Order Changeth* . Changes toward human interest stories and positive portrayals of some business and politics were made before the magazine was under new leadership and was consistent with the self-proclaimed "faith in people . . . which gives us as editors an absorbing interest in the common American life, all phases of it--religion and economic not less than baseball and the drama."[99]

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[95] Semonche, "The *American Magazine* from 1906-1915," 44.
[96] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 300.
[97] Baker, *American Chronicle*, 302.

Historians of the muckraking era have concluded that the venture was an exciting one that did not quite live up to its potential. An article that focused on the finances of the magazine from 1906 to 1915 stated in the beginning summary that the author, Semonche "traces the melancholy story of the magazine's decline and its passing into the hands of owners who put profits first."[100] The well-cited Frank Luther Mott in his *History of American Magazines* wrote, "It was the human interest side of the tandem that ran away with the magazine in the course of time"[101] Filler asserts "By the time they had lost the magazine entirely it was hardly recognizable as the organ they had launched so bravely in 1906."[102]

The American Magazine may not have lived up to the liberal expectations of many of the historians of the muckraking period, but did remain true to its goal to be fair-minded and to accurately reflect American life--both the bad and the good. As for Steffens accusation that Phillips and the others wanted him to "go easy" it is hard to say how much truth was in his statement. The question is not necessarily whether Steffens was lying, but whether the staff of *The American Magazine* intentionally softened their blows and compromised their principles or whether it was Steffens' more radical views that they believed needed softening. Regier explained that muckrakers in general "were neither doctrinaire reformers nor hard-boiled economists; they were newspaper men with a generous interest in human nature, considerable confidence in American democracy, and a sportsmanlike desire for fair play."[103]

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[98] "In the Interpreter's House," *The American Magazine*, November 1910, 142.

[99] Ibid., 143.

[100] Semonche, "The American Magazine from 1906-1915," 36.

[101] Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Vol. III, 1865-1885* (Cambridge, Massachsetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 514; It is interesting to note that Mott, who is often cited by many other historians, is one of those who incorrectly states that the magazine was sold in 1915.

[102] Filler, *The Muckrakers*, 364; Filler incorrectly has the timing of the sale of the magazine coming before the Mexico series and uses "Barbarous Mexico" as an indicator that the muckrakers had been taken over. See pages 363-364.

The staff of *The American Magazine* wanted to be successful in educating, informing and entertaining its middle-class audience while reaching more and more people with their ideal message. Larger circulation translated not only into financial profit, but in reaching a larger readership. It was possible that "going easy" or shifting the magazine toward more human interest stories was consciously undertaken to reach a larger readership. In this way, the staff could continue to address issues which they felt were the most important and reach an audience drawn to the magazine for its other features.

It is more likely that the staff's interests and philosophies had matured and mellowed with experience. The staff had begun *The American Magazine* in the later years of their career: Tarbell was forty-eight, Baker thirty-six, Dunne thirty-nine and Steffens was forty. And, it can be argued, that even in their youth Tarbell, Baker, Steffens and the others were more interested in giving an accurate, thorough and factual picture of any issue they were researching than to prove its corruption or negative nature. They firmly believed that the facts spoke for themselves. Steffens became dissatisfied with exposure that did not bring enough reform and turned toward socialism. The others rejected socialism, but they, too, seemed discontent in 1906 when they were being labeled "muckrakers." Tarbell wrote, "*The American Magazine* had little genuine muckraking spirit. It did have a large and fighting interest in fair play; it sought to present things as they were, not as somebody thought they ought to be."[104]

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[103] Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*, 147.

The American Magazine from 1906 to 1911 was under the direction of a group of middle-class idealists, journalists and editors who believed in America and wanted to aid in its success. To do so, they worked to expose both the good and bad in American social and political life in the hope that an educated public would not let America ruin itself. When the venture was not successful financially and they could no longer produce the magazine to which they aspired, they sold it to the prosperous Crowell Company for whom they continued to produce the magazine for the next few years. Then, when the new leadership of the magazine no longer allowed them their voice, they resigned and continued their careers in new directions, but with the same fair-minded and muckraking spirit that they had begun.

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[104] Tarbell, *All in the Day's Work*, 280.

Appendix One

The Contents of The American Magazine Issues from October 1906 to March 1911

Mon./Yr	Total #	Articles	Muck	Personal	Misc.	Fiction	Editorial
Oct. 06	13	3	1	0	2	8	1
Nov. 06	13	4	1	1	2	8	1
Dec. 06	14	4	1	2	1	8	2
Jan. 07	11	5	2	1	1	5	1
Feb. 07	15	7	1	1	5	7	1
March 07	13	6	2	1	1	6	1
April 07	12	5	2	1	1	5	2
May 07	12	5	3	1	1	6	1
June 07	12	6	3	1	2	5	1
July 07	12	5	1	2	2	4	3
Aug. 07	12	3	2	1	0	8	1
Sept. 07	11	5	2	1	2	5	1
Oct. 07	11	5	2	1	2	5	1
Nov. 07	12	5	1	1	3	7	1
Dec. 07	13	5	2	0	2	7	2
Jan. 08	13	6	3	3	0	5	2
Feb. 08	12	5	4	1	0	5	2
March 08	11	6	4	1	1	3	2
April 08	12	5	2	0	3	5	2
May 08	12	3	2	0	1	7	2
June 08	12	5	2	3	0	5	2
July 08	12	3	2	1	0	6	3
Aug. 08	12	2	2	0	0	8	2
Sept. 08	15	6	3	1	2	7	3
Oct. 08	13	5	1	1	3	6	2
Nov. 08	13	5	2	1	2	6	2
Dec. 08	13	5	2	2	1	5	3
Jan. 09	12	6	2	2	2	5	1
Feb. 09	11	5	3	2	0	5	1
March 09	12	6	3	3	0	5	2
April 09	11	6	3	2	1	4	1
May 09	12	6	3	1	2	5	1
June 09	12	5	2	1	2	5	2
July 09	12	5	3	1	1	7	0
Aug. 09	12	5	1	1	2	6	1
Sept. 09	12	5	2	0	3	6	1

Mon./Yr	Total #	Articles	Muck	Personal	Misc	Fiction	Editorial
Oct. 09	15	7	2	2	3	6	2
Nov. 09	15	8	2	1	5	6	1
Dec. 09	16	8	3	3	2	7	1
Jan. 10	16	9	4	2	3	5	2
Feb. 10	15	7	4	1	2	7	1
March 10	16	10	5	2	3	5	1
April 10	16	9	4	2	3	6	1
May 10	16	9	4	2	3	6	1
June 10	15	10	2	3	5	4	1
July 10	16	9	2	3	4	6	1
Aug. 10	16	7	1	3	3	6	2
Sept. 10	13	9	3	3	3	5	0
Oct. 10	16	8	3	1	4	7	1
Nov. 10	14	7	2	1	4	6	1
Dec. 10	16	9	4	2	3	6	1
Jan. 11	14	6	2	2	2	6	2
Feb. 11	15	6	3	1	2	5	3
March 11	12	6	3	0	3	6	1

Appendix Two

Serial Offerings of The American Magazine Issues from October 1906 to March 1911

Mon./ Yr	Fiction	Articles/Tarbell	Articles/Grayson	Articles/Baker	Other/Departments	Personal/Editorial
9/06						
10/06						
11/06		Tariff - Tarbell	Adventures in Content (Grayson)			
12/06						
1/07	Arethusa (fiction)	Tariff - Tarbell	Adv. in C. (Grayson)		Letetia (f)	
2/07	Arethusa (fiction)		Adv. in C. (Grayson)			
3/07	Arethusa (fiction)	Tariff - Tarbell	Adv. in C. (Grayson)		Letetia (f)	
4/07	Arethusa (fiction)	Tariff - Tarbell	Adv. in C. (Grayson)	Color Line (Baker)		
5/07	Arethusa (fiction)	Tariff - Tarbell	Adv. in C. (Grayson)	Color Line (Baker)		
6/07	Arethusa (fiction)	Tariff - Tarbell	Adv. in C. (Grayson)	Color Line (Baker)	Letetia (f)	
7/07	Arethusa (fiction)		Adv. in C. (Grayson)	Color Line (Baker)		
8/07	Arethusa (fiction)		Adv. in C. (Grayson)	Color Line (Baker)		
9/07	Arethusa (fiction)		Adv. in C. (Grayson)	Taming of the West (Steffens)	Slaves who stayed (f)	
10/07			Adv. in C. (Grayson)	T. of West (Steffens)		
11/ 07			Adv. in C. (Grayson)	Mote&Beam(Steffen)	Letetia (f)	
12/07		Roosevelt vs. Rockefeller (Tarbell)		Mote & Beam (Steffens)	Slaves who stayed (f)	

1/08		R. vs. R. (Tarbell)	Open Road (Grayson)		Metropolis (Sinclair)	Mr. Dooley
2/08		R. vs. R. (Tarbell)		Color Line (Baker)	Metropolis (Sinclair)	Mr. Dooley
3/ 08			Open Road (Grayson)	Color Line (Baker)	Metropolis (Sinclair)	Mr. Dooley
4/ 08				Color Line (Baker)		Mr. Dooley
5/08	Simple Septimus (f)			Color Line (Baker)		Mr. Dooley
6/08	Simple Septimus (f)		Open Road (Grayson)	Color Line (Baker)		Mr. Dooley
7/08	Simple Septimus (f)			Color Line (Baker)		Mr. Dooley
8/08	Simple Septimus (f)			Color Line (Baker)		
9/08	Simple Septimus (f)			Color Line (Baker)		
10/08	Simple Septimus (f)					
11/08	Simple Septimus (f)	Chicago (Tarbell)				Letters from G.G.
12/08	Simple Septimus (f)	Chicago (Tarbell)		Spiritual Unrest (Baker)		
1/09	Simple Septimus (f)		Old Order Changeth/ Open Road (Grayson)	Spirit Unrest (Baker)		Letters from G.G.
2/09	Mary Soul (f)		Old Order (White)		Slaves who stayed (f)	Letters from G.G.
3/09	Margarita's Soul (f)	Tariff (Tarbell)	Old Order (White)			Letters from G.G.
4/09	Margarita's Soul (f)	Tariff (Tarbell)	Old Order (White)			Letters from G.G.
5/09	Margarita's Soul (f)		Old Order (White)	Spirit Unrest (Baker)	Baseball story	Letters from G.G.
6/09	Margarita's Soul (f)	Tariff (Tarbell)		Spirit Unrest (Baker)	Baseball story	Letters from G.G.
7/09	Margarita's Soul (f)			Spirit Unrest (Baker)		Letters from G.G.
8/09	Margarita's Soul (f)		Old Order (White)		Baseball story	Letters from G.G.
9/09	Margarita's Soul (f)			Spirit Unrest (Baker)	Drama	
10/09	Margarita's Soul (f)			Spirit Unrest (Baker) /Barbarous Mexico	Plays & Players/ Interesting People/ Football	Mr. Dooley
11/ 09	S. Jester (f)/Togo Tales (f)	American Woman (Tarbell)		Barbarous Mexico	P & P / Int. People	
12/09	S. Jester (f)/ Togo (f)	Am. Woman (Tarbell)	New Adv. (Grayson)	S. Unrest/B. Mexico	P & P / Int. People	

1/10	S. Jester (f)	Am. Woman (Tarbell)	New Adv. (Grayson)	Barbarous Mexico	P & P/ People/BBall	The Cabin (f)
2/10	S. Jester (f)/ Togo (f)	Am. Woman (Tarbell)		Barbarous Mexico	P & P / Int. People	The Cabin (f)
3/10	S.Jester (f)	Am. Woman (Tarbell)		Barbarous Mexico	P & P / Int. People	The Cabin (f)
4/10	S. Jester (f)/Togo (f)	Am. Woman (Tarbell)		Barbarous Mexico	P & P / People/BBall	Cabin (f)/ J.Adams(p)
5/10	S. Jester (f)	Am. Woman (Tarbell)			P & P /People/BBall	Cabin (f)/ Adams(p)
6/10	S. Jester (f)				P & P /People/BBall	Cabin (f)/Adams (p)
7/10	S. Jester (f)				P & P /People/BBall	Cabin (f)/ Adams (p)
8/10	S. Jester (f)		New Adv. (Grayson)	Barbarous Mexico	P & P /People/Tennis	Cabin (f)/ Adams (p)
9/10			New Adv. (Grayson)	Barbarous Mexico	P & P/People/Horses	/ Adams (p)
10/10		Tariff (Tarbell)	New Adv. (Grayson)	Barbarous Mexico	P & P / Int. People	
11/10	Secret Garden (f)	Tariff (Tarbell)			P & P /People/BBall	
12/10	Secret Garden (f)	Tariff (Tarbell)		Caesar-taxes (Nock) /B. Mexico	P & P / Int. People	Human Grit (p)
1/11	Secret Garden (f)	Tariff (Tarbell)		Caesar-taxes	P & P / Int. People	Human Grit (p)
2/11	Secret Garden (f)			Caesar-taxes	P & P / Int. People	Human Grit (p)
3/ 11	Secret Garden (f)			Caesar-taxes	P & P / Int. People	Human Grit (p)

COMMON FORMS FOR UNCOMMON ACTIONS: THE SEARCH FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN DUST BOWL CALIFORNIA

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COMMON FORMS FOR UNCOMMON ACTIONS: THE SEARCH FOR POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN DUST BOWL CALIFORNIA

From 1935 until the beginning of WWII, the Dust Bowl migration was widely regarded as the pre-eminent manifestation of the failure of the United States' market economy. It attracted national and even international press coverage, and spawned popular treatments in book-length reports, novels and movies, some of which achieved and continue to enjoy a mythical status in American culture.[1] One possible reason for this deep resonance is the degree to which it not only highlighted the disastrous effects of reigning agricultural practices, but provided unmistakable evidence of the mortality of American exceptionalism.

By the late 1930s, more than 500,000 people had left the south central states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Missouri, with more than 300,000 making their way to California, only to find infrequent, low-paying work amidst widespread persecution and inescapable poverty.[2] Neither migrant farmworkers' presence nor the living conditions they endured were new to Californian farms or the 1930s; they had been longstanding features of state as well as national agriculture.[3] Yet, what was new — and what turned a previously invisible cog in the agricultural economy into both a concrete example and a microcosm of what was seen as wrong with the country and with capitalism — was the legitimacy, perhaps unprecedented, of alternative political movements and their organizational strength. Therefore, chances for widespread improvements in migrant farmworkers' situation rested largely on the ability to join with these alternative movements and apply enough pressure to the rigid and reactionary agricultural industry and state political elite to bring about significant change.

This study is a contribution to recent work about alternative journalism, alternative political movements, and alternative cultural forms in which these are expressed.[4] As David Spencer points out, labor songs, folklore, and verse generally have received little attention from journalism historians in comparison to the more "serious" forms of essays, tracts, and speeches, despite their immense importance as vernacular expressions of popular discontent, thereby suggesting more defensibly popular experience from, in E.P. Thompson's words, "the bottom up."[5]

This study addresses the forms of social criticism penned by Anglo migrant farmworkers who worked the California fields in the late 1930s and early 1940s (popularly known as "Dust-bowl migrants").[6] What makes such an exploration possible is the survival of mimeographed newspapers published in migrant labor camps in the 1930s and 1940s. For purposes of this essay, The Weedpatch Cultivator, later named the Tow-Sack Tattler, provide the material on which one case can be documented. [7] The newspaper appeared from 1938 to 1942 in the federally run Arvin Migratory Labor Camp near Bakersfield, California, the first federal camp and one of the first of such migrant camp newspapers.

The forms that migrant criticism of living and working conditions took in the newspaper included blustery personal statements and turgid, simplistic essays lifted from labor-union boilerplate. However, other forms such as aphorisms, jokes, and verse had their basis in everyday migrant experience and dramatized complex exploitative conditions, thereby having the greatest potential of achieving widespread collective awareness and action.[8] How such items worked socially and why they did not — indeed, could not — achieve such social goals is the case examined in this study. Although the goals of organizing were largely not achieved, much can be learned about communication as the social production of collective experience and about strategies of alternative politics by investigating failures as well as successes.[9]

After briefly discussing the formative conditions faced by migrant farmworkers and summarizing the complex nature of this migrant culture, examples from this newspaper are discussed. The analysis is based on the recognition that form as common knowledge is the substance and basis for collective consciousness and action.[10] Items were examined in terms of form, intention and effect, topics addressed, address, and signature. Patterns were detected, then interpreted in terms of the institutional milieu and historical conditions. Direct quotations from the newspaper are reproduced verbatim, except in cases were minimal clarification in punctuation or spelling is needed.

Consistent with a cultural materialist orientation, items in the newspaper are understood as active cultural technologies involved in the complex process of forging social relations and identities. Such a reading suggests that, far from camp newspapers' being simply an inert "record of the process" of "subcultural construction" (as one historian of this situation puts it), they themselves were a major mode of cultural production.[11] For scholars such as Thompson and Raymond Williams, culture represents the ongoing, concrete, historical work of producing a social order, and communication as the material process by which social conventions and traditions — the living substance of society — are continually produced, renewed and modified.[12]

Living and Working Conditions

Living and working conditions of migrant farmworkers in California during the 1930s were generally acknowledged as desperate and unconscionable, but they were as inescapably a part of day-to-day reality as beans and dust. Despite these persistent conditions, little had been done to change them.[13] Although migrant laborers had worked California fields since the later 1800s, attempts to organize them had failed largely because of the difficulty of organizing such a scattered and mobile workforce. As a result, radical activity earlier in the century had been limited to areas of high concentration of workers, such as timber camps and anarchistic activities of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).[14]

By the 1930s and the renewed legitimacy of labor, organizing activity among farmworkers picked up, beginning with the efforts of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU), but few long-term gains were made before organizational difficulties and wave after wave of vigilante repression beat the union down to the point where, by the mid-1930s, it disbanded.[15] As a result and by that time, attempts to organize farmworkers were regarded as evidence of lunacy or desperation. Early in 1935, Paul Scharrenberg, secretary of the California State Federation of Labor, commented to a news reporter who was covering the San Francisco trial of men who were attempting to organize agricultural workers that "'only fanatics [such as the defendants] are willing to live in shacks or tents and get their heads broken in the interest of migratory labor'."[16]

Scharrenberg's comment exemplifies the degree to which migrant farmworkers were shunned, not only by organized labor, but by the federal government. The American

Federation of Labor (AFL) strongly resisted any attempt to create an affiliated farmworkers' union because it emphasized its heritage of supporting skilled craftsmen, not manual laborers. Also, non-farmworker members were much more desirable for union-building activities because, as Cletus Daniel notes, they were "overwhelmingly nonmigratory, able to afford modest union dues, and eligible to claim the rights and protections afforded by the National Labor Relations Act," the last reason a particularly damning one for farmworkers, the only labor group excluded from the protection of federal legislation.[17]

However, the industrial-scale growth of California agriculture created a similarly industrial-scale work force in size and concentration, thereby making organization, if not easy, at least more possible than it had been. During the late 19th and early 20th Century, few areas of the economy had been more affected by the growing efficiency of industrial capital than agriculture.[18] Furthermore, such industrialization had become the dominant practice in California, where concentrations of mobile workers were needed in increasingly large numbers to service the state's labor-intensive cash crops.[19] The concentration of wage workers combined with increasingly desperate living and working conditions led to an explosive situation, which organized labor saw as an opportunity and that those who ran the state's agricultural industry saw as a substantial threat.[20]

Both government and labor became involved in this emerging situation. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal government attempted to address it through the Resettlement Administration, later becoming the Farm Security Administration (FSA).[21] Organized labor in the form of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), under the leadership of John L. Lewis and his seeming tolerance of Communist Party of the United States of

America (CPUSA) members and activities, also committed resources to organizing migrant farmworkers.[22] In particular, the political potential of tens of thousands of alienated farmworkers convinced some in the CIO to try to merge migrants into a larger national organization. Therefore, the increasing industrialization of the California agricultural industry combined with the reformist stance of the federal government and the emergence of the CIO and its initial willingness to work on behalf of migrant farmworkers helped set into motion the agrarian radicalism in California of the late 1930s.

While the federal government started its migrant-labor camp program, union organizers for the UCAPAWA (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America), the local union affiliated with the CIO, set out to organize migrant workers into a potent political force aligned with the goals of labor nationally. Initial results were notable. In autumn 1938, the largest strike in the state was staged by cotton-pickers in Kern county (the location of Camp Arvin), where some 3,000 workers stayed out of the cotton fields.[23] Although fewer strikes took place state-wide in 1939, those that did happen were larger than in 1938, the biggest one encompassing the entire San Joaquin Valley, the conflict again over pay for work in the cotton fields.[24] Migrants lived and worked, and the camp newspaper was written, produced, distributed, and read in this explosive context, with the federal camp project and labor unions aligned against the agricultural industry and state government supporters.

The Camp Newspaper

Far from being an indigenous response by migrant farmworkers, the newspaper was established, supported, and encouraged by the FSA for two general reasons. The first is that it played a part in the official FSA goal of "rehabilitating" migrants from "rootless wanderers" to responsible, wage-earning citizen-consumers.[25] The other side of this seemingly altruistic goal was the political need for incorporating an increasingly desperate, disenfranchised portion of the populace that had nothing to lose and everything to gain.[26] An important component of this rehabilitation was the camp newspaper, which migrants were supposed to read and produce in order to learn the role of news in a liberal democracy and the boundaries within which such activity "properly" occurred.[27]

The second reason the FSA established and supported the camp newspaper was for institutional survival. In addition to playing a role in the rehabilitation program, the newspaper was intended to provide evidence to a skeptical Congress of migrant "rehabilitation" and, therefore, that money appropriated by Congress was being well-spent. From the beginning of the program in 1935, congressional opponents of New Deal policies found the FSA a highly visible example of a government program run amok. FSA directors therefore spent a good deal of resources to document activities and to build public approval and political support for the camp program as humanitarian aid.[28] Camp newspapers were important to these efforts, as well.

The newspaper took shape within these sets of intentions. It consisted of a single sheet, 8 inches wide and 15 inches deep. The masthead was hand-drawn, and stories consisted of typed columns, with copies produced by mimeograph. Not only did the camp administration donate its camp clerk to transcribe spoken contributions, it supplied the paper and mimeographed the completed copy for distribution within the camp, to libraries and others who requested copies, as well as to FSA headquarters in Washington, D.C., aided as it was by government franking privileges. Editors were migrant farmworkers who appeared to have been self-appointed (with at least tacit camp manager approval), and, based on statements of authorship or similarities of voice, editors wrote or transcribed most of the material which appeared. Although the campers' fund (generated by a 10-cent per site per day fee), soon paid for the paper, the FSA continued to provide production support for the duration of its publication.[29]

Migrant Cultures

The conditions and the institutional support existed for the formation of a migrant farmworker union, but the complexity of those labeled "Dust-Bowl migrants" worked against such formulaic answers. Historian James Gregory describes them as "Southwestern 'plain-folk'," whose culture and outlook was linked to a longstanding heritage of anti-monopoly and citizen-producer ideas, agrarian and working-class radicalism, and nationalist and sometimes racist attempts to preserve the country's white male Protestant dominance. As Gregory notes, catechisms in this heritage typically stressed "the dignity of hard work and plain living and promised deliverance from the forces of power, privilege, and moral pollution, near and far."[30] Thus, nationalism, populism and an often evangelical religiousness were complexly blended.

While sympathetic to critiques of industrialists and others in authority, migrants also shared a belief in a white Protestant and an often intensely patriotic nationalism, and, in this way, held deeply and simultaneously radical and conservative views.[31] One can make sense of these contradictions by understanding them in terms of individualism and collectivism. By doing so, their social implications become clearer.

Intensely individualistic, their approach toward living stressed individual strength and persistence — fitting the saying "God helps those who help themselves." Individualism spawned such diverse responses to often desperate living conditions as stoic fatalism and resignation, reluctance or heated resistance to pressure to join a group, or the favoring of disorganization rather than taking the chance of worsening one's lot through aligning with the wrong people or with the wrong cause.

Yet many also shared a collectivism in terms of a sentimental, homespun tenderness and deep regard for one's family, hometown, state, region and nation. Where individualism typically underwrote inaction or resistance, collectivism helped constitute a source of pride while it underwrote voluntaristic activity. It legitimized taking pride in being American, an "Okie" or "Arkie" (a term of derision turned into a term of pride when used by a migrant), a member of a union, or as a farmer.

Such a dynamic was the basis for contradictory responses to a sociologist's interviews during the late 1930s and early 1940s with migrants who lived in Kern County — some of whom lived for a time at Camp Arvin in Kern County, the camp at which the newspaper analyzed for this study was produced.[32] Even while professing pride as an American, migrants still advocated the kinds of ideas promoted by politically radical labor organizers to correct the injustices suffered in a failing American society.

> If they cut that relief off in California they will have a revolution in California. They'll [migrants will] fight fer it, they always have. [. . .] And by-god I ain't no Communist, but I may sound like one though.[33]

It also was the basis for conflict between generations. In 1936, a supporter of organizing migrant labor noted this disagreement within one family. Oklahoman Jim Killen, reported the writer, "believed in organization as the devout believe in religion," although he was not entirely committed to labor. However, there was substantial disagreement within his family about the best attitude and action to take, indicating differing generational, gender and political alignments in terms of individualism and collectivism.

> His brother talks violence; his father industrial democracy; his mother mumbles.
>
> His father: "There kaint be any recovery until the workingman gets paid enough so he can buy what there is to sell."
>
> His mother: "It's been worser than this in Oklahoma. There's been times when we'd been glad to work for 10 cents a day."
>
> His brother: "Blast their God damn fields with dynamite."[34]

In the same way that they could be patriots while finding severe faults with the American system, migrants could champion the cause of labor while at the same time denouncing it. Many were skeptical of the CIO because of its (as they put it) Communism, disorganization, lazy members who joined only to avoid working and high-rolling union leaders' exploitation of the rank-and-file. However, many also found value in collective action as part of the union, which they saw as the only way to bring about better pay, prevent starvation and help those on relief get their fair share.[35]

Thus, collectivism-individualism as articulated within populist and radical labor traditions comprised the cultural context of migrants' activity. Migrants were not of a single mind, but instead rallied and fragmented in contradictory ways, sharing with the FSA a patriotism and the belief that migrants' problems in America were due to the corruption of a sound, egalitarian political system rather than to defects inherent in that system, and, with the UCAPAWA an anger at migrants' economic subjugation and the goal of achieving, in Oklahoman, folk-singer and migrant- and labor-spokesman Woody

Guthrie's words, "a good job at honest pay," which would required widespread changes in the status quo.[36]

What made this situation especially complex was the fact that points of agreement were also polarizing differences. Migrants often chafed within the authoritarian, patriarchal FSA educational program, which addressed symptoms rather than causes of the migrants' plight, and this individualism complicated efforts by the portion of migrants who were union-minded to build a collective consciousness that might become the basis for collective political action.[37] Also, despite the Popular Front strategy of the Communist Party of America (CPUSA) which called for collaboration with trade unions rather than revolution, the UCAPAWA's revolutionary rhetoric offended many migrants' deep-seated faith in the United States and confirmed their equally deep fear of "creeping" communism.[38]

Forms of Individualism

Although the FSA placed official notices of various kinds in the newspaper (a perk from its role as providing support), most items came from migrant farmworkers who lived in the camp. These contributions took many forms, ranging from letters to the editor, anonymous gossip columns, and one-liner jokes to lengthy essays about the labor situation. By seeing these items in social terms, how they fit — or didn't fit — with the aim of organizing into a self-aware political force becomes clearer.

The individualism of migrant culture was expressed in a variety of items, but most evocatively, in verse which expressed a rugged, good-natured self-sufficiency and unpretentiousness.

Don't be what you ain't
Jes' be what you is
If you is not what you am
Then you is not what you is
If you're just a little tadpole
Don't try to be a frog
If you're just a tail
Don't try to wag the dog.
You can always pass the plate
If you can't exhort and preach
If you're just a little pebble
Don't try to be the beach.
Don't be what you ain't
Jes' be what you is,
For the man who plays it square
Is a-goin' to get "his."
— Juanita Davis.[39]

This often became a fatalism, underscored by religious resignation, such as in a poem that concluded: "It is not for us to understand / Just leave it all in jessus hand."[40]

Individualistic items also addressed the specific situation of farm laborers in California, but they often took the form of personal statements that justified only individual actions. Reluctance to appear "uppity" by telling others what to do undercut their collective potential, such as in a personal statement by a farmworker with family, who, during the 1938 strike, mentioned the inequity of some people staying out only for a few days then returning to work in the fields before the strike achieved its goals. As he explains, "I don't know whether to call them scabs or not," because they had to work to get food to eat. He concludes that his family has enough food to hold out longer, and that "my family has no intention of going back to the cotton fields until this strike is over," thereby explaining his reasoning for only himself and his family, which others could take or leave.[41] Such reluctance to tell others what to think and what to do — regarding such people as bossy and know-it-alls — ran deeply in many items, such as a poem that poked fun at "grumblers," who complained about everything. The advice given to people who were confronted with grumblers was to "turn a deaf ear, and pretend you can't hear."[42]

Forms of Collectivism

As organized action can only take place and be represented in collective terms, cultural forms that presented the common situation and case were essential for this mobilization to have a chance. The editor of August, 1939 appealed to migrants for more contributions to the newspaper, and her explanation suggests the general awareness of the ability of newspaper items to evoke common experience.

> If you've been moved, either to laugh or cry by something that's happened to you or around you, it's pretty certain that some of your neighbors would be moved in the same way if they saw the story in print.[43]

However, with some exceptions, the potential for working collectively for change was never realized. Although collectivist appeals were made often, such expressions either did not address the immediate, concrete situation, were simplified (and therefore easily discounted as slogans or pie-in-the-sky wishes), or too abstract, therefore not linking effectively the day-to-day working reality of individual migrants with the structural conditions of subjugation.

Collective calls that did not address the specific situation attempted to organize migrants socially, but not in the service of labor activism. Many migrants saw no necessary role for a radical critique of the United States' political and economic system, and items in the newspaper that expressed this version of collectivism — such as the poem below — did so in uncritical terms.

Makes no difference where you wander,
Makes no difference where you roam.
You don't have to stop and ponder,
For a place to call your home.
When they ask you where you were born lad,
Speak right up - be proud to say,
That your home's the land of Uncle Sam,
The good old U.S.A.
— A Camper.[44]

A collective-minded religious confession in verse also countered individualism, but in a way that made the current, earthly situation irrelevant when compared to greater goals.

Lord help me live from day to day,
In such a self and helpful way,
That when I kneel to pray,
my prayers may help others.
Help me Lord in all the works I do,
To ever be sincere and true,
And know that all I do for you,
must need be done for others.
— Mrs. Shatwell.[45]

Appeals that simplified the situation did not address the depth of the problem or the difficulty of the solution. For example, after a writer notes the inequity of cotton growers getting 14 dollars per hundredweight while those who pick it get 75 cents, he concludes that the industry sets the price and that, only if workers were organized, "your trouble would be over."[46] Another item on the same page concludes "you people who are picking this 80-cent cotton surely can't expect a lot of favors from the good people of California." The solution was simply to "wake up and git in line don't sleep all your life."[47]

Poems and song lyrics urged migrant laborers to "get off the row" and join the C.I.O.[48] Reprinted lyrics to songs sung on the picket lines as well as those penned by

Woody Guthrie appeared often.[49] Some of these songs parodied or appropriated others, such as in "Associated Farmer Has a Farm."[50] Hand-drawn pictures were used as well, such as one example that consisted of the head and shoulders of Woody Guthrie, with a caption: "The Dust Bowl Kid says: Prices is High wages Low / A man that would pick / 80¢ cotton is a slave / and nothing more! — Woody."[51] But, whatever value they may have had in terms of momentary morale, none served as a deeper critique which might have sparked sustained resistance.

Examples of simplified and abstract appeals include a series of self-described "weekly letters from the editor" which were penned by a recent arrival to Camp Arvin from another camp nearby and that appeared during the 1939 strike. His aim was to "explain what different organized groups are and what they stand for," beginning with the Workers Alliance of America and continuing with the UCAPAWA. Overall goals of the W.A. of A. were to "bring about real economic recovery, to assure useful work at decent wages for all willing workers, to promote greater purchasing power among the people and to provide real social security for all" — laudable, yet entirely future, abstract goals that spoke little to farmworkers concerned with where to find food immediately.[52] Later the same month, the editor attempted to explain how unions work by using examples such as how a team of horses can accomplish more by working together and how a car runs well when all parts are working. Such appeals still did not explain why it continued to be so difficult to organize and to maintain organization, and instead simply proposed "wouldn't it be wonderful if we were all joined together in one or more organizations and cooperated with each other in times like we are not having."[53]

The key to producing a collective consciousness was not in ignoring individualism or in simply asserting an automatic, abstract collectivism, but in overcoming the polarization altogether by recognizing migrants' situation as, paradoxically, a collective experience of alienation. Wandering and working as a purposeless, isolated individual was a typical theme of individualistic items, yet some items were able to dramatize alienation as a collective experience encouraged by specific conditions.

One of the few examples of this is a remarkable verse titled "Cotton Fever" which depicted the alienating experience of toiling as an individual in the cotton fields. Its form is a square-dance call; the square-dance was the primary cultural form of popular (as opposed to authoritarian) collective engagement, and weekly square-dances that attracted workers from camps miles around were staples of camp life. In this way, its use leveraged the intimate knowledge of all farmworkers. However, this "square dance" was not for enjoyment. The caller was not a person, but cotton bolls, setting the cadence and dictating pickers' every move. The poem ends with the cotton bolls still calling, reminding the pickers that this life was hard, but that this work was better than dying as a pauper, which would put one's surviving relatives into debt, thereby depicting farm labor in current conditions as the only option.

COTTON FEVER

Along the road on either side
Cotton green and two miles wide.
Fields fan out in rows string-straight,
And a boll flings out his wadded bait
And grins at me and seems to say:
"You'll be a' grabbin' at me one day
At six bits a hundred weight."

Then the bolls started rustling,
Shouting in the air

Just like as if they was callin'
Off a square:
"Chase that possum, chase that coon,
Chase that cotton boll around the moon.
Crawl down a row and stand up straight
On a six-bit whirl for a hundred weight
Hunker on along and grab 'er all around.
Lint's heaped up an' a record yield;
Gin's chuck full so gin 'er in the field.
You can live on the land till the
Day you die,—
Just' as long as you leave when the
Crops laid by.
So pick 'er on down to the end in the gloam,
Then swing up your sack and promenade home.
Meet your baby, pat him on the head
Feed him white beans an' a piece of corn bread.
No need to worry, he'll go freight —
At jus' six bit a hundered weight."

And so I mosey down the hill
Cotton bolls a-callin' still:
"At Long Row's End the Boss Man wait,
Nail you up in a wooden crate.
At six bits a hundered livin's hard,
But dyin's dear in the County Yard —
At twenty-five bucks a hundered weight!"
—A Camper.[54]

Migrants earned money in the cotton fields, but precious little of it and at the price of dehumanization. They best fit this system when they didn't think, but just listened to the call of the bolls and worked as an isolated individual. It was a "fever," a sign of sickness, not of well-being.

This verse was unique; no other item worked in the same way. Other, similar poems about working in the fields neglect to talk about the relationship between workers and conditions, and instead emphasize individual reactions to it.[55] Others criticized corrupt institutions, such as "the kept press," but neglect to link migrants' everyday experience to the case. The issue of why a corrupt, commercial press matters to migrant farmworkers who are wholly concerned with simply feeding their families from day to day was never broached.[56] Although a cultural solution to the problem of organization momentarily surfaced, it was far too little and far too late.

Conclusions

Upon the conclusion of the 1939 growing season and the onset of WWII, the institutional milieu changed substantially. Many conditions and developments caused the UCAPAWA's provisional presence to wane. The continual problem of organizing migrant farmworkers was never solved, and CIO head John Lewis' disinterest in it made finding a solution even more difficult.[57] CPUSA moral credibility was seriously impaired by the signing of the non-aggression pact between the Soviets and the Nazis. Combined with the wartime improvement in the nation's economy (which meant large numbers of new war-related jobs for unskilled workers in southern California), and increased nationalism which undercut oppositional positions, labor's appeal and effect in the California fields was generally neutralized.[58] After the high season of 1939, labor activity quickly dissipated.

The FSA stepped into the void left by the collapsed labor movement. Under constant threat of congressionally mandated disbandment, the FSA opportunistically settled on a new, unassailably patriotic goal of aiding wartime food production.[59] Consequently, the FSA became far less tolerant of migrant uses of the newspaper that were contrary to this new purpose. With organized labor virtually gone from the institutional scene and disinterest in aiding the new FSA goal tantamount to being labeled a traitor to the country, the FSA soon exercised its authority unopposed. From the end of

1939 to the end of the camp newspaper in 1942, with the collapse of the influence of organized labor and the radical left, hegemonic identification of migrants with the FSA and the existing American political system was largely achieved.

The fashioning of a cultural means of bridging the contradiction between individualism and collectivism and rallying it for political organization constituted a need that, with only a few exceptions, was not met. Migrant resistance was at most unorganized, with union organizers more often scrambling after wildcat strikes than planning them.[60] The case described in this study suggests that such failures were not due only to lack of resources (although money to support strikes was always in short supply), living and working conditions that weren't as bad as many portray them to be (they were often far worse), or the strength of the status quo (which was sizable), but in a failure of a means by which migrants could embody the situation culturally, organize, and work to change it.

NOTES

[1] Widely read and cited examinations/polemics include Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field; The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California (Boston: Little, Brown, 1939); John Steinbeck, The Grapes of Wrath (New York: The Viking Press, 1939); 20th Century Fox's 1940 movie version of The Grapes of Wrath; and the tremendous volume of photographs generated by Roy Stryker, Dorothea Lange, and others photographers of the Farm Security Administration, which appeared in popular magazines and newspapers across the country. See Carl Fleischhauer and Beverly W. Brannan, (eds.), Documenting America, 1935-1943 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

[2] Walter J. Stein, "A New Deal Experiment with Guided Democracy: The FSA Migrant Camps in California," Canadian Historical Papers 1970, 132-146; James Hamilton, "Educating Patriots, Recruiting Radicals: The Migrant Camp Newspaper at Arvin, California," Communication 13 (1993), 255-275; James Gregory, American Exodus; The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3-35.

[3] More moved in the 1920s than in the 1930s, but circumstances had changed drastically. McWilliams, Factories, 7-8, 293; S. Rexford Black, Report on the California State Labor Camps (San Francisco: California State Unemployment Commission, 1932), 9; Don Mitchell, The Lie of the Land; Migrant Workers and the California Landscape (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

[4] See, for example, David Ralph Spencer, "Rhymes and Reasons: Canadian Victorian Labor Journalism and the Oral Tradition," Journal of Communication Inquiry 16 (Winter 1992): 72-90.

[5] Most edited collections are a result of this preference. An example is "Yours for the Revolution"; The Appeal to Reason, 1895-1922 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), which is a valuable collection of essays, but not of alternative forms. Of course, collections of labor songs of the 1930s exist, such as Alan Lomax, ed., Hard-Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People (New York: Oak Publications, 1967), but they await their Eric Foner and their version of Foner's work American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), and they are generally not addressed as part of a scholarly exploration into working-class consciousness. The phrase "history from the bottom up" is from E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage, 1966).

[6] For greater depth, see James Hamilton, "(Re)Writing Communities: Dust-Bowl Migrant Identities and the Farm Security Administration Camp Newspaper at Arvin, California, 1938-1942," (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1993).

[7] The run of the Arvin camp newspaper is sometimes very sparse, due to uneven publication and somewhat haphazard preservation. Largely complimentary holdings of surviving issues are held at the National Archives-Pacific Sierra Region in San Bruno, California and at the University of California at Berkeley.

[8] Todd Gitlin makes a similar point when addressing the cultural role of rock-and-roll music in the student movements of the 1960s. See Gitlin, The Sixties; Years of Hope, Days of Rage (New York: Bantam, 1987), esp. 195-221.

[9] With a similar intention, Todd Gitlin investigates the fragmentation of left politics in the last 25 years, with the hope of identifying resources for its renewal. See The Twilight of Common Dreams (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1995).

[10] Of relevance to this study is the work of Raymond Williams — in particular Marxism and Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) — and of the Bakhtin Circle and commentaries upon it, especially Mikhail Bakhtin, The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays, ed. Michael Holquist, transl. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), V.N. Voloshinov, Marxism and the Philosophy of Language, transl. Ladislav Matejka and I.R. Titunik (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), and Michael Gardiner, The Dialogics of Critique; M.M. Bakhtin and the Theory of Ideology (London: Routledge, 1992).

[11] Consistent with the notion that communication simply reflects reality, Gregory cites traditional structural-functional, Parsonian sources for his conceptions of culture and ethnicity. See Gregory, American Exodus, 304, fn 30.

[12] Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory," in Problems in Materialism and Culture, 31-49; Williams, Marxism and Literature, 168; Williams, "The Uses of Cultural Theory," New Left Review 158 (July/August 1986), 19-31. See also Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen, "Introduction: Communication and the Question of History," Communication Theory 3 (May 1993), 130-136.

[13] Gabriel Kolko, Main Currents in Modern American History (New York: Harper and Row, 1976; reprint, New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 147.

[14] Standard works include David Brundage, The Making of Western Labor Radicalism: Denver's Organized Workers, 1878-1905 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All; A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); and Philip Foner, The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917 (New York: International Publishers, 1965). Cultural investigations include Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas, and Deborah Shaffer, Solidarity Forever: an Oral History of the IWW (Chicago: Lake View Press, 1985), and Salvatore Salerno, Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989). Of particular

relevance to the topic of this study are such sources as Songs of the Workers: On the Road, in the Jungles and in the Shops (Spokane: The Industrial Worker, [191-?]) and The Complete Joe Hill Song Book (Stockholm: Prisma/FIBs Lyrikklubb, 1969).

[15] Linda C. Majka, and Theo J. Majka, Farm Workers, Agribusiness, and the State (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 74, 85; Vicki L. Ruiz, Cannery Women, Cannery Lives; Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

[16] George P. West, "Communists Tried Under I.W.W. Law," New York Times, 20 January 1935, sec. 4, 1.

[17] Cletus E. Daniel, Bitter Harvest; A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 258-261, 273-281.

[18] McWilliams, Factories; Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Historical Background of California Farm Labor," Rural Sociology 1 (June 1936), 281-295; Paul S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor," Rural Sociology 1 (December 1936), 401, 404; Alan L. Olmstead and Paul Rhode, "An Overview of California Agricultural Mechanization, 1870-1930," Agricultural History 62 (Summer 1988), 86-112.

[19] McWilliams, Factories.

[20] U.S., Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor Unionism in American Agriculture, by Stuart M. Jamieson, Bulletin No. 836 (Washington: GPO, 1945; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1975); Daniel, Bitter Harvest; Majka and Majka, Farm Workers.

[21] Sidney Baldwin, Poverty and Politics; The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

[22] Klehr points out that, despite the important alliance of Comintern with the CIO during the 1930s, its role could hardly be described as dominant or even unproblematic. See Harvey Klehr, The Heyday of American Communism; The Depression Decade (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 136-146, 223-251. See also Harvey A. Levenstein, Communism, Anti-Communism, and the CIO (Westport: Greenwood, 1981.)

[23] Majka and Majka, Farm Workers, 128.

[24] Ibid., 128-129.

[25] Hamilton, "Educating Patriots"; Stein, "A New Deal Experiment."

[26] Eric Thomsen, "Why Plan Security for the Migratory Laborer?" (paper presented to the California Conference of Social Work, San Jose, May 12, 1937), National Agricultural Library, Bethesda, Maryland. The global case is summarized in Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Extremes (New York: Pantheon, 1994), 85-108.

[27] Stein, "A New Deal Experiment"; Hamilton, "Educating Patriots."

[28] Baldwin, Poverty and Politics.

[29] Jerome Wilcox to Frederick Soule, 12 April 1940; File 163-01, "Genl [Jan. to June 1940] [1]," General Correspondence, 1940-42; Farm Security Administration, San Francisco/Berkeley; Record Group 96, Records of the Farm Security Administration, National Archives-Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, Calif. [collection HEREAFTER cited as "General Correspondence, NAPSR"]; Charles L. Todd, "The 'Okies' Search for a Lost Frontier," The New York Times Magazine, 27 August 1939, 10-11, 17; Frederick Soule to John Fischer, 2 August 1939; File 160, "Public Relations, General, Jan. 1939-Dec. 1939," General Correspondence, NAPSR.

[30] Gregory, American Exodus, 141-142.

[31] Ibid., 150-154.

[32] James Bright Wilson, "Social Attitudes of Certain Migratory Agricultural Workers in Kern County, California" (M.A. thesis, University of Southern California, 1942).

[33] Ibid., 277.

[34] "Shafter-Wasco potatoe [sic] district, Kern Co. 5-6/36"; folder "History of AFL Agricultural Unions"; carton 6, "FSA"; Simon J. Lubin Society Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[35] Wilson, "Social Attitudes," 322-343.

[36] Guthrie uttered this phrase often. One place it appeared in the camp paper was in untitled, Tow-Sack Tattler, 28 October 1939, 3.

[37] Majka and Majka, Farm Workers, 130-132; Sheila Goldring Manes, "Depression Pioneers: The Conclusion of an American Odyssey; Oklahoma to California, 1930-1950, A Reinterpretation," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1982), 3; and Wilson, "Social Attitudes."

[38] Wilson, "Social Attitudes," 332-333; John Diggins, The Rise and Fall of the American Left (New York: Norton, 1992), 173-174; Levenstein, Communism, 36.

[39] "Be What You Is," Weed Patch Cultivator, 11 November 1938, 1. This poem appeared widely in other migrant labor camp newspapers. See Gregory, American Exodus, 152.

[40] "Leave It In Jesus's Hand," Weed Patch Cultivator, 12 May 1939, 2. Early in the camp's existence, manager Tom Collins also commented in a weekly report on the religious core of migrant fatalism: "The campers 'Trust in the Lord.' That is good of course, [. . .] However we cannot encourage them to become dependent with the hope that the ravens will feed them or that Jonah will come along with his whale and swallow all their troubles." See Thomas Collins, "Kern Migratory Labor Camp, Report for week ending March 7, 1936," 7; file RF CF 26 918-01, "Arvin [Report] [March 1936]"; Coded Administration Camp Files, 1933-45 — Arvin; Farm Security Administration, San Francisco/Berkeley, Records of the Farm Security Administration, Record Group 96, National Archives-Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno, California.

[41] "To Them This May Concern," Weed Patch Cultivator, 21 October 1938, 1.

[42] "'A Grumbler'," Weed Patch Cultivator, 11 November 1938, 2.

[43] "Prize for Best Poem or Idea," Tow-Sack Tattler, 24 August 1939, 1.

[44] "'Wandering'," Weed Patch Cultivator, 21 October 1938, 2.

[45] Untitled, Weed Patch Cultivator, 21 October 1938, 2. Another example is "What Do They Say!," Weed Patch Cultivator, 25 November 1938, 2. The religious nature of migrant culture is noted in depth by Wilson, "Social Attitudes," 359-375, and summarily by Gregory, American Exodus, 150. Such items appeared most often during major Christian holidays. For examples, see "'Bible Reading'," Weed Patch Cultivator, 30 December 1938, 2; "Bible reading for the week:- Acts-20-19 to 21," Weed Patch Cultivator, 27 January 1939, 3; and "Bible Reading of the Week," Weed Patch Cultivator, 3 February 1939, 3.

[46] "Here Goes don't Git in a Hurry and Stracks Back," Tow-Sack Tattler, 6 October 1939, 4.

[47] Untitled, Tow-Sack Tattler, 6 October 1939, 4.

[48] Untitled, Tow-Sack Tattler, 20 October 1939, 3. Woody Guthrie, who noted that he had "made the Arvin Camp lots of times with the old trusty guitar, and listened to the Campers sing in their churches and at their dances, and pie suppers and speakins," later set this verse to music. In a published collection of songs in which it was included, Guthrie mentioned hearing "a little fourteen year old boy's poem called 'I'd Ruther To Die on My Feet than Live on My Knees . . .' Can you beat that? No, you can't. It leapt out of this boy's mind like a young mountain lion, and the road was lined with cops in

their big black sedans, laughing, grunting, and talking, and a listening to jazz music on their radios." The 14-year-old boy — George Tapp — also authored the cited poem. See Hard Hitting Songs, 225.

[49] "Join the Union," Tow-Sack Tattler, 28 October 1939, 16; "'Greenback Dollar' (streamlined)," Tow-Sack Tattler, 11 November 1939, 4.

[50] It was signed "composed by Bill Kindle, Omah Colo and Ruby Rains." See "Associated Farmer Has a Farm," Tow-Sack Tattler, 17 November 1939, 7. It was Guthrie's tactic as well to "take old folk songs or tunes and write new words to them and to rework the melody when necessary." See Guy Logsdon, introduction to Woody Sez, by Woody Guthrie (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1975), xiv.

[51] Untitled, Tow-Sack Tattler, 11 November 1939, 10. As Guthrie was an accomplished illustrator in the homey style of this illustration, it is likely that Guthrie drew it and signed it. At least one notice appeared of an impending visit of Guthrie and Hollywood actor Will Geer to the Arvin Camp. See "Woody and Gear [sic] to Entertain," Tow-Sack Tattler, 22 September 1939, 2.

[52] "Weekly Letter from the Editor," Tow-Sack Tattler, 6 October 1939, 2; "Weekly Letter from the Editor," Tow-Sack Tattler, 13 October 1939, 4.

[53] "Editor's Weekly Letter," Tow-Sack Tattler, 20 October 1939, 2.

[54] "Cotton Fever," Tow-Sack Tattler, 24 August 1939, 5. Cotton was weighed and pickers were paid by "hundredweight" — 100 pounds of picked cotton. The common price for a hundredweight was 75 cents, hence the "six bits." The "tow-sack" of the newspaper's title is the fabric bag dragged by the picker in which picked cotton was placed prior to dumping it out to get paid.

[55] For example, see "Pea Picking Blues," 8 September 1939, 1; and "Just Around the Corner," Tow-Sack Tattler, 29 September 1939, 3.

[56] "Only the Kept Press," Tow-Sack Tattler, 8 September 1939, 3.

[57] Levenstein, Communism (68) notes that Lewis lent little support to the UCAPAWA. In January 1938, he stopped CIO aid.

[58] Bert Cochran, Labor and Communism; The Conflict that Shaped American Unions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 143-144. An able overview is Anthony J. Badger, The New Deal; The Depression Years, 1933-1940 (New York: Noonday, 1989), 286-290; Ruiz, Cannery Women, 55; Daniel, Bitter Harvest, 281.

[59] Baldwin, Poverty and Politics, 325-331. The FSA's stance toward its programs can be labeled one of "careful liberalism" — meaning advocating change, but without antagonizing and putting into danger its increasingly scarce Congressional support. The source of the phrase (and a brief overview of the administrative milieu of the FSA) is Nicholas Alfred Natanson, "Politics, Culture and the FSA Black Image" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1988), 100.

[60] Jamieson, Labor Unionism.

WGPR-TV, 1975-1995: Rest in Peace

(A History of the First Television Station Licensed to Blacks in the Continental USA)

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ABSTRACT

This paper chronicles how a black corporation in Detroit, Michigan obtained a license for, built and operated WGPR-TV, the first television station licensed to blacks in the continental USA. The company operated the station for 20 years before selling the station to CBS, Inc. In 1995.

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WGPR-TV

Historians of blacks and the mass media in Michigan will note that 1995 was a watershed year that arguably marked a digression on the black electronic media ownership front. That year Detroit gave up its claim to being a major center of black-owned electronic media in the USA.. First, one of the few black-owned cable television systems was sold to a large white corporation. Later that year, WGPR-TV, the first television station in the continental USA licensed to a black group, was sold to a white corporation, CBS Inc, one of the pioneer broadcast corporations in the U.S. (Duffy, 1994). The Detroit cable system was one of the few black-owned cable systems in the USA, but the television sale was different. The sale of WGPR-TV to CBS Inc. marked the end of the first experiment in black-owned and black-oriented broadcast television and provides an opportunity for a case study in the ownership area of the relationship between blacks and the mass media.

The Channel 62 Frequency

The availability of the Channel 62 television frequency in Detroit dates back to the Federal Communication Commission's (FCC) Sixth Report and Order that lifted the freeze on television and opened the UHF band for television broadcasting in 1952 (Summary of TV Allocations, 1954). Prior to the frequency being acquired by the group of black entrepreneurs, at least two other attempts had been made to broadcast on the frequency (Television Stations, 1954 and Directory of TV Stations, 1973). The licensee prior to the black group tried for approximately five years to make viable a commercial service on the frequency before giving up. (Directory of TV Stations in the U.S., 1972). The station was initially assigned the call letters WRIH-TV when the black group was awarded a construction permit (Directory, 1974) but the group obtained permission to change the call letters to WGPR (to match the call letters of a FM radio station the group controlled) by the time the station actually signed on the air. The WGPR call letters that applied to the radio station originally represented "Grosse Pointe (a Detroit suburb) Radio." In the 1960s, Grosse Pointe was an exclusive community and had been for many years. The irony of blacks in Detroit holding the license to two broadcast stations with call letters that initially stood for this exclusive conclave was not lost on some black Detroiters.

According to Ulysses Boykin, a longtime friend and colleague of Dr. William Banks, the president of the black group who acquired the station, Banks "'liked the fact' that the call letters were about the Grosse Pointes, communities virtually closed to blacks in those years. We would laugh about it -- you know, Grosse Pointe" (Gavrilovich, 1985). When the black group took over the station, the slogan associated with the call letters of their properties became "Where God's Power Radiates."

According to the black group's application, Dr. Banks was the principal, the station would broadcast from an antenna 820 feet high with 548 watts of effective radiated power The facility would cost approximately $900,000 to construct. Costs were estimated to be $400,000 with estimated revenues of $500,000 (TV Applications, 1973). The FCC granted the group a construction permit in October 1973 (Matthews, 1976).

Dr. William V. Banks

One cannot tell the story of WGPR-TV without telling the story of Banks. Much like successful 20th century black newspapers, e.g., *The Afro-American, The Chicago Defender, The Pittsburgh Courier* and *The Journal and Guide*, were identified with a strong leader or a single family, WGPR-TV followed that same pattern. By the 1970s, Banks was a well-to do businessman who had been the driving force behind WGPR-FM, a successful black-oriented radio station in Detroit since 1964. Banks was the dramatic and effective head of WGPR-TV and held in that position until his death in 1985. He was 82 years old.

Banks was born in (Geneva or Lawrenceville) Kentucky to a family of sharecroppers and moved to Detroit when he was 16. Like many blacks who arrived in the Motor City, he worked for a time in an auto assembly plant. It is not clear exactly when Banks punched his last time clock (for Dodge or Ford), but between shifts he hit the books, graduating from Detroit City College (now Wayne State University) and earned a law degree from the Detroit College of Law in 1929. He opened a law practice in 1930 and he became one of Detroit's best known (local residents typically referred to him as Doc") black businessmen. Years later Banks returned to school, attending the Detroit Baptist Seminary and was ordained a Baptist minister in 1949 (Gavrilovich and William V. Banks, 1985).

In the living room of a Canton, Ohio home in 1950, Banks founded the International Free and Accepted Modern Masons Inc., a fraternal order also known as the Black Masons, and the Order of the Eastern Star, a women's auxiliary. The groups grew from 22 members initially to more than 350,000 members when WGPR-TV signed on the air in 1975. At the time of his death in 1985, the fraternal organization, for which Banks still served as Supreme Grand Master, held the license to WGPR-FM and WGPR-TV, operated the Universal Barber College and International School of Cosmetology, and had commercial real estate holdings (Gabriel, William V. Banks (Obituary).

Banks, through the Masons, acquired WGPR-FM in 1964. At the time, WGPR-FM was running an annual deficit of $109,000 and was on the market for $40,000. One account of the sale reported Banks had a difficult time convincing the board of the Masons on the wisdom of the deal, but the fact he did may say something of Banks' ability as a salesman (Matthews, 1976). Banks said of the WGPR-FM acquisition, "I stole it" (Matthews, p. 73). The radio station soon became profitable, grossing over $1 million a year in 1974.

Black Television Ownership Prior to WGPR-TV

WGPR was not the first black television station owned by blacks in U.S. territory. It was actually the third television station licensed to a black group. Prior to WGPR-TV's sign-on, DeWitt (1974) viewed the state of black media in America and examined the state of black owned media in the USA and bemoaned the inability of blacks to gain any type of foothold in television ownership:

> ...[W]hen all is said and done there can be no doubt that television has become America's most important communications medium. It is doubly ironic, therefore, that in this medium black ownership is even more of a rarity than in the others. There is just one black-owned conventional TV station on the air now, and that one is outside the continental United States -- Christiansted's WSVI (Channel 8) in the Virgin Islands (p. 19).

The Masons were part of a small number of black entrepreneurs independently seeking to gain a foothold in the commercial television business. The black group in Christiansted acquired its station in November 1973 (Directory of TV, 1975). In 1974, another group of black investors obtained for $900,000 ($100,000 more than anticipated) a license for television station WBNB-TV (Channel 10) in Charlotte Amalie, also in the U.S. Virgin Islands (DeWitt, p. 65 and Matthews, p. 19). In 1974, black groups were vying for licenses in Nashville, Tennessee and Washington, DC; there was one black-owned cable system on the air in Gary, Indiana (DeWitt).

Published accounts located did not say when Banks actually decided to pursue the idea of getting a television license. Newsweek magazine (Black TV, 1975) reported Banks had been working on the idea shortly after his group acquired the FM radio station. Stevens (1975b) said it took four years to move from the idea to the first actual broadcast.

The Masons obtained a construction permit for the station in part because of political connections, At a White House Dinner in the 1970s for the Shah of Iran, Banks, a Republican, got the ear of President Richard Nixon, who advocated black capitalism for black economic development who encouraged Banks to pursue acquiring a license for a television station. Nixon's Watergate problems limited the attention he might have directed his aides to give to running interference for the Masons. President Nixon's successor was Vice President Gerald Ford, a former Michigan member of the house of Representatives and a fried of Banks. The Ford Administration did take some credit for helping the station finally get on the air, according to Stanley Scott (1975) -- President Ford's adviser on black affairs.

After getting a construction permit, Banks and the Masons were in uncharted waters. Although they would not be the first black group to operate a station, they would be the first group to build one from the ground up in the continental United States. The 1970s were an era when the three commercial networks dominated television viewing, routinely accounting for over 90 per cent of the viewing audience. In addition to the network dominance, Detroit in 1974 had three other UHF stations on the air already (see Table 1). The expansion to television from radio would prove more difficult that Banks and the Masons imagined. After operating the station for a year, Banks said if he had known how difficult television would be "I might not have done it" (Matthews).

The Masons could take little heart from the experience of the pioneer black television station owners. Two years after acquiring WBNB , the black group in the Virgin Islands had not yet turned a profit. Cummings (1974) noted that "television had not been as successful (as the print media and film)" in "directing communications to a narrow audience" and that "mass programming psychology coupled with sponsor [advertiser] fear of antagonizing potential customers has produced bland programs" (p.

71). Consequently, he urged that instead of local, advertiser-supported television stations, a national subscriber-supported cable television service would work best. He concluded "It would appear that the potential rate of return on investment in a national pay cable television network narrow-casting (sic) to Blacks is high enough to make it economically feasible" (p. 81). One black group was attempting to get a license to operate a subscription service in 1974 (DeWitt).

However, Banks and the Masons thought that Detroit -- the nation's seventh largest market at the time with a 33 per cent black population, a relatively high per capita income and a high percentage of home owners -- would be a lucrative market. While Banks was a visionary, the implementation of the dream became a nightmare. The hurdles that had to be overcome to get WGPR-TV on the air were major. Under FCC rules at the time the Masons applied for permission to operate Channel 62, broadcast facilities were normally given six months to complete a construction permit. However, more than two years passed before WGPR-TV signed on the air after negotiating a mind field of obstacles.

Building WGPR-TV

The first series of problems the group experienced was money. Under FCC rules at the time, applicants for broadcast construction permits had to prove they had liquid assets to operate the station for one year without any revenue. By the Masons' estimates, this came to $750,000, but they only had $500,000. Banks raised the $200,000 needed to satisfy the FCC requirements by going to Detroit businesses. Armed with a letter of support from the first black FCC Commissioner Benjamin Hooks, Banks was able to persuade Ford,, American Motors Corporation, Chrysler, and General Motors to pledge $100,000 of advertising once the station went on the air. The other half came from pledges from WGPR-FM advertisers. Although the non-WGPR-FM advertisers had revenues that were no match for the larger national corporations headquartered in Detroit, the largest pledge of advance advertising came from a black clothing retailer (Black TV and DeWitt, p.63, 65).

The second problem was locating a building. It took two years to find a building before a property was eventually secured on East Jefferson Street for $350,000. Banks said "When people found out that you wanted a building to house a TV station, they thought you had plenty of money, and the price escalated" (Matthews p. 65).

More difficulties followed. The chosen optimum transmitter site was too close to the Canadian border and would have caused interference with Canadian frequencies. Banks had to use his political contacts to finish the project. In addition to help from friends in the Republican White House, Detroit's two black members of the House of Representatives Charles C. Diggs, Jr. and John Conyers Jr. -- both Democrats -- helped to get an international treaty rewritten to eliminate the signal interference problem. Another technical problem required Banks' political savvy on the local level. The General Motors building in downtown Detroit blocked the station signal, so Banks convinced the city to rewrite an ordinance that allowed an increased antenna height.

With a focus on the potential and his lifelong optimism, Banks told Newsweek the week before the station made its debut "We expect to begin making money within 60 days after we go on the air. (Black TV, 1975). According to Stevens, WGPR-TV was important for two reasons:

> If it survives in the ratings race and in an advertising market where there already are seven other stations, it will be a highly visible symbol of successful black enterprise.
>
> And if its programming philosophy is carried out as intended, it will provide an alternative to the portrayal of blacks in American culture

that emerges on television generally (p. 75).

Sign-On and Firsts

The station signed on shortly before noon on Monday, September 29, 1975 with the words "This is WGPR-TV, Channel 62, Detroit, Michigan, now beginning our broadcast day. WGPR-TV is owned by the International Free and Accepted Modern Masons" (Stevens 1975b). Later in the hour, President Ford offered pre-recorded congratulations and his hope that WGPR-TV would "serve as a symbol of successful black enterprise" and added that "I want to see more of this kind of progress" (channel 62 Debuts, 1975). The editors of the Detroit Free Press noted the event later in the week called the debut of WGPR-TV "a cause for cheer" because the station would provide a diverse point of view that was missing form the city's marketplace of ideas. They wrote:

> As the nation's first black-owned and black-operated television station, it will add a new dimension and added stature to the area's entire communications industry. . . The potential community good to be derived from the new station is great. It is a welcome addition to the local world of fine tuning. (TV first in Detroit, 1975.

WGPR-TV had 48 employees, 33 of whom were black; it had taken over two years and $2.7 million to get the station on the air (Black TV and Stevens, 1975b). WGPR-TV's 68.7 percent black employment compared with a broadcast industry that reported 13 percent minority employment at the time (Minority and Female Employment, 1984).

In addition to its national breakthrough, WGPR-TV was also notable for some "firsts" for the Detroit market. It was the first Detroit station to be completely equipped with mini-cams and the first station to use tape rather than film for its locally-originated programming (Peterson 1975c). Later, it would also become the first television station in Detroit to broadcast 24 hours a day (Gabriel, 1994).

WGPR-TV went on the air with an ambitious schedule and plans to produce 60- 65 per cent of its programming (Stevens, 1975b) at a time when the other stations in the market were only producing 10 percent. Most of the shows would be black-oriented. The initial lineup was to include "a consumer show, a morning talk show, a local game show, an advice program in the mold of 'Dear Abby,' a children's program, a teen age dance show similar to 'Soul Train,' and programs dealing with gardening, consumer matters, horoscopes and cooking." (Stevens).

Perhaps, the most ambitious project was "A Time to Live," a soap opera written by two black woman reporters for the Detroit Free Press. There were plans to syndicate this programming to television stations in other markets with large black populations (Black TV). According the George White, vice president for programming, "the program schedule will provide in-depth penetration in the problems, goals, aspirations and achievements of blacks and related ethnic groups." The problem was that such programming did not exist and creating it would cost money and there were really no syndication possibilities at the time. Banks envisioned WGPR-TV to be the flagship stations of a group that would grow to seven stations (Stevens 1975b), the maximum number of television stations an organization could own at the time.

Most businesses fail because they are undercapitalized and that appears to have been the case with WGPR-TV. As mentioned earlier, the WGPR-TV construction permit application approved by the FCC estimated the station's revenues would be 25 percent higher than its expenses in its first year of operation. According to Stevens, the station had "guaranteed, first year advertising commitments totaling $3 million" from major Detroit advertisers.

Undercapitalization and staffing problems set WGPR-TV on a course that limited its growth and influence and placed at risk almost immediately the ability of the station to survive. What began as a point of dignity and pride soon failed to deliver what it promised. At a time when most independents stations lost money, WGPR followed this pattern.

On the Air

As the acknowledged head of the operation, Banks made the decisions on how the station was operated. Banks said he thought it (the television business) would be just like running a radio station" (Matthews, 1976). Consequently, this misunderstanding would set the station on a course of playing financial catch-up from which it would never recover to be able to offer the ambitious programming that it had planned. The television business was not the radio business as Banks found out. The economics of the television business were not grasped and unlike radio no cheap, constantly updated source of programming for its television target audience existed as did new releases of recorded music for WGPR-FM. The costs of the programming plan were miscalculated and consequently under-budgeted from the beginning.

Once the station went on the air, its ambitious plan for local programming was never realized A series of technical problems plagued the early days of the station (Peterson, 1975a, b). According to Gabriel (1994):

> Channel 62's first days on the air were bumpy. The 7 a.m. sign-on time was moved to 9:30. Shows came on later than scheduled. Blackouts knocked the station off the air. Commercials didn't play all the way through . . . With each glitch the station lost advertisers, and the money got tighter. (p. G1).

Almost immediately, concerns were raised about WGPR-TV's news programming and its approach. Bettelou Peterson, television writer for the Detroit Free Press, wrote of her concern with WGPR-TV's news philosophy. Peterson (1975b) saw Jerry Blocker, the WGPR-TV news director, promote the station on one of its movie breaks and reported Blocker said WGPR-TV planned to fill a market niche by concentrating "on a positive image of Detroit" and "emphasize what is happening in Detroit's black community and to blacks around the nation and the world." She wrote:

> Certainly two days of curtailed operation is too short a time to make a real judgment. But one reservation has arisen about the Channel 62 news.
>
> As a supplement, it will serve an important function in covering items that are not or cannot be used in newscasts by stations aiming at a wider audience. But a well-informed community also will need to know which news, while it may not be made by blacks, still directly affects the black community (p. 4B)

The first revenue problems surfaced less than one month after WGPR-TV went on the air and led to the first decision that translated into what the audience saw on the air and an acknowledgment to the pubic that WGPR-TV may have tried to do too much too soon. Banks decided to cut the news staff from twelve persons to six to save money. Jerry Blocker, the news director of WGPR-TV at the time, said "Banks turned a little chicken. The day that decision (to cut the news staff) was made -- that we were going to have to cut back (on the news staff) like crazy -- that was a sad day. All these people in there with this dream, and you were going to have to tell them (the employees who were being laid off) they were no longer part of it" (Gabriel). Ultimately, Banks cut enough staff to reduce annual payroll expenses from $884,000 to $312,000 to be able to stay on the air (Matthews, p. 73)

The station ran a deficit for the first year, selling only 30 percent of its add time. The station registered in the first set of audience estimates for the market with a 1-2 ratings but these numbers forced the stations to have to sell advertising for 33 per cent off its base rate (Matthews). To compensate for the low level of advertising, WGPR-TV began selling airtime to local ministers, many of whom already had radio programs on WGPR-FM. The soap opera was scrapped because its estimated annual budget of $12,000-$15,000 a week could not be funded and the writers could not work out their work with WGPR-TV and their jobs at the newspaper. A year after going on the air, Matthews described the WGPR-TV 15-hour daily program schedule as "a crazy quilt marked by lots of old movies and reruns of defunct serials like "I Spy" (p. 73). A station official blamed the program fare on syndicators not giving them access to quality product.

Gabriel wrote:

> For one thing, WGPR-TV as a newcomer has had difficulties buying the better syndicated shows, (James) Panagos (then vice president of sales for WGPR-TV) explains, and in particular has not been able to get at properties he says the networks are sitting on and will never air, "Why don't they let us have a crack at them?" he asks. "Why don't they give us a chance to show them to the public and make some money out of them?" (p. 73)

Six programs survived the first year: (1) a teenage dance show, (2) a talk show co-produced with a Cleveland station, (3) a series about blacks who left the South for the Northwest, (4) a program by singer James Brown called "Future Shock," (5), a 15-minute summary of horse racing results and (6) a program on crime that from description resembled the "Crime Watchers" feature.

WGPR-TV

Stevens' second report of WGPR-TV in December (1975a) found a station that had "not had an easy time since it went on the air last Sept. 29" because of technical problems and miscalculation: "Station executives discovered that they had been overly ambitious in their programming plans, and had to scale back in the face of economic reality" (p. 45). These problems notwithstanding, Stevens (1975a) reported the station was getting fan mail from blacks and whites, had ratings of 1-2 for its programming and was producing 30 percent of its programming itself, including the only news program by a non-network affiliate in the Detroit market.. He reiterated the $3 million advertising commitment from Detroit businesses.

Matthews (1976) provided an assessment of WGPR-TV one year into operating. According to his account, financial woes caused my management miscalculation of expenses and the reluctance of advertisers to support the station and programming problems left the station struggling to survive.

WGPR-TV initially registered in the independent audience estimates in the first quarter but moved to asterisk status (audience too small to estimate) as the schedule predictability and programming quality diminished or fluctuated. By the end of the first year the station was on the verge of folding.

According to Gabriel:

> ..Meanwhile, creditors were circling and threatening to repossess equipment that first year. "One creditor was going to come down and take our cameras," Blocker said. "They were like sharks waiting to collect. . . "The first year we didn't think we were going to be able to keep the doors open" said Tenicia Gregory, Banks' daughter who was made vice president and treasurer (of WGPR-TV while her father was alive). "There were weeks I didn't get paid or my father didn't get paid (p. G1).

The rise of the electronic church proved to be a consistent source of revenue and programming material for WGPR-TV over the years. The local black ministers were joined on the WGPR-TV schedule by the national ministries of white television evangelists such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and Jim and Tammy Bakker. These paid broadcasts formed a rather predictable financial basis for WGPR-TV. The station never reached its planned level of original programming for the duration of the time the license was held by the Masons. Gregory said one of the station's legacies was to provide training for blacks who in many cases went on to other stations in Detroit or other markets (Gabriel).

Although WGPR-TV was a UHF station is a VHF dominated market, Gregory said her father over the years turned down offers to buy the station from prospective black, white, regional and national buyers. Even with its low ratings, Matthews said the station was making a profit while it was struggling because of the retrenchment. Gregory said it took eight years for the station to be consistently turn a profit and WGPR-TV was a profitable operation when Banks died on August 24, 1985.

Turmoil and New Management

The death of Banks set off an internal power struggle for the right to run WGPR-TV. After his death, Gregory became general manager. Ivy Banks, the widow, attempted to assume the leadership of WGPR-TV but she was challenged successfully in the courts, by a group of 46 Masons led by George Mathews, a Niagara Falls accountant. After losing the court battle in 1985, Banks and her daughter left WGPR-TV and the Masons. In 1986 Ivy Banks sued the Masons for $1.3 million allegedly owed as repayment of loans the late Banks made to the group and for alleged compensation due for services dating back to 1973. She settled her suit for an undisclosed amount and closed the ledger on the involvement of the Banks family with WGPR-TV (Gabriel).

WGPR-TV

Mathews assumed managerial responsibility of WGPR-TV, but made no initial programming changes. He developed an additional revenue stream for the station by capitalizing on the situation that WJBK-TV, the CBS affiliate in Detroit, frequently preempted CBS programming, particularly the network's late night programming. WGPR-TV became a sort of secondary affiliate and was the Detroit outlet for programs like "The Pat Sajak Show" and other CBS experiments in the daypart (Lapointe, 1987 and Pat Sajak, 1989). A Detroit Free Press reporter writing in 1989 offered some praise for some of the station's personalities, but said the WGPR-TV programming raised more questions than it answered:

> But, on the downside: Does Detroit really need that much religion -- especially religious programming that often seems designed to beget more programming by seeking donations? Will the station ever professionalize its look and sound? Will commercial cues and station breaks ever be neat and clean? Will someone ever work with ethnic programmers to improve the technical look of their offerings? (WGPR's still a mixed bag, 1989).

In 1992, The National Labor Relations Board found WGPR in violation of fair labor practices, including promoting employees based on gender, paying substandard wages and providing employees with poor working conditions (Wimberly , 1992). Earlier that year, the station had laid off the entire 11-person news department. Station management said the reasons were economic, but some of the affected employees accused station management of dismissing them for voting for union representation.(Kiska, 1992). The station's licenses renewal was delayed in 1993 until its adequately responded to questions raised over its children programming in 1993 (Kiska, 1993)

Matthews announced an agreement to sell the station for $24 million to CBS in 1994. Caught in the network affiliate swap wars started by Fox Television luring VHF affiliates to their fold, CBS was faced with having no outlet in the nation's ninth largest market. CBS' first alternative was to seek to acquire Channel 38, a more powerful facility (see Table One)(Kiska 1994c). Although some blacks wanted the station to stay in black hands, they were not successful in stopping the transfer (Kiska 1994a, b and McFarlin 1994). Holly said the black group was angry over the decision to sell to CBS because they had expressed to the Masons an interest in buying the station in the past and upon learning of the sale offered $36 million for WGPR-TV (Holly, 1995). CBS declined a proposal to make WGPR-TV its affiliate and sell a 50 percent interest in the station to Detroit area black interests (Kiska, 1994b). The FCC approved the license transfer in July 1995 and CBS obtained permission to change the station call letter to WWJ to mark the change it ownership (Parry 1995 and Channel 62 changes hands 1995). It planned to spend approximately $100 million to upgrade the facility and improve its programming. requested and obtained a call letter change. The sale marked the end of this pioneer experiment in black broadcasting and black electronic media ownership. After the transfer, the local electronic ministers , long a mainstay of WGPR-TV programming, were told to take their programming elsewhere (Kiska 1995).

Conclusions/Summary

It is clear that from the mishaps that occurred WGPR-TV failed because the licensees did not have adequate knowledge of the television business prior to undertaking this endeavor. The technically inferior facility, inconsistent schedule in the early years and reliance on a charismatic leader who had groomed no successor led to the dream of the station never being fulfilled. However, there are several perspectives one could take in assessing the operation of the station by the Masons.

On an entrepreneurial level, WGPR-TV accomplished several things, Despite the years of financial problems, the sale of the station to CBS represented an annualized return of 11 percent for its investors. If the group had sold to the black businesspersons, the annualized return would have been approximately 14 percent. Second, WGPR-TV's 20 year history made it an exception to most new black businesses that historically fail within the first three years of operation. Third, the owners did what capitalists must do to survive: adapt. Programming concerns aside, the WGPR-TV operators had enough business acumen to develop and secure additional revenue streams when advertiser support was not forthcoming. Consequently, the Masons were able to leave the business on their own terms rather than watching the station sold at auction or headed for bankruptcy court.

One could argue that WGPR-TV had a positive impact on employment opportunities for blacks. The station was a constant reminder to other Detroit stations that they had to make sure their operations had black employees and that their operations had staff to air programs that addressed the black population of Detroit. WGPR-TV provided and prodded television job opportunities for blacks in Detroit that arguably would not have been there in the quantities that were had television been left to its tradition.

On a programming level, the disappointment of WGPR-TV was the result of its failure to deliver on its ambitious promise of substantially better and different programming. Its contribution might be a benchmark of the programming road that should not be taken. While WGPR-TV will go down in history as a first and a pioneer, only time will tell if WGPR-TV is remembered or faulted for what it was not able to do in terms of raising the mark for excellence in black-oriented programming. There can be doubt that WGPR-TV was a casualty on the road to black media excellence. In some ways, it is a monument to the failure of broadcast regulation in the days before deregulation. Given its overly optimistic programming plans and the economics of the television business at the time, the FCC should have made a more stringent assessment of the construction permit application and summarily denied the application. Given the programming plans of the group, FCC approval of a construction permit and subsequently a license to WGPR-TV set the station up for what the harshest critics might assess as failure and the gentler critics might term disappoint. WGPR-TV should have been required to demonstrate why its programming plans and advertiser revenues estimates, that flew in the face of industry practices and economics, were plausible or more importantly fundable.

Hopefully, the example and story of WGPR-TV will be noted as blacks attempt to navigate the developing information superhighway. These travelers must determine if prosperity for the entrepreneurs and social responsibility to their race are compatible, desirable or even possible for advertiser-based services. If their intentions are stated clearly at the time these services are launched, historians can have a better yardstick by which to judge the context of the success or failure of the enterprise.

Table One
Detroit Television Market

Channel	Year Began First Operation - Power 1973	Network Affiliation 1973	Power (1994)	Network Affiliation 1994
2	1948 - 100kw	CBS	100kw	CBS
4	1947 - 97.7kw	NBC	100kw	NBC
7	1948 - 316kw	ABC	318kw	ABC
9	1954 - 325kw	CBC	325kw	CBC
20	1962*- 417kw	Independent	1,200kw	Independent
38	1989 - N/A	Off the air	1,243kw	Independent
50	1965 - 2,340kw	Independent	1,340kw	Fox
56	1955 - 964kw	PBS	1,200kw	PBS
62	1968 - 548kw	Off the air	759kw	Independent

Sources: Summary of TV Allocations, Applications, Assignments (1954).
Telecasting Yearbook-Marketbook., p. 411.
Television Stations in the U.S. Broadcasting & Cable Yearbook 1994, p. C-35

Table Two
WGPR-TV/Channel 62 History

Year	Event
1950	"Black" Masons founded
1952	Channel 62 allocated to Detroit
1964	Masons acquire WGPR-FM
1973	Mason receive construction permit for Channel 62
1975	WGPR-TV signs on September 29
1975	WGPR-TV makes staff cutbacks in October
1976	WGPR-TV adds white ministers paid broadcasts
1985	Dr. William Banks dies on August 24
1986	Ivy Banks sues Masons for control of WGPR-TV
1992	WGPR-TV ends news broadcasts
1994	Masons agree to sell WGPR-TV to CBS for $24 million
1995	FCC Approves Sale of WGPR-TV to CBS
1995	CBS changes call letters of WGPR-TV to WWJ-TV

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Maternal Images in the Age of the Girl:

The Work of Jessie Willcox Smith and Other Women Artists in Early-Twentieth-Century Magazine Illustration

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Maternal Images in the Age of the Girl:
The Work of Jessie Willcox Smith and Other Women Artists in Early-Twentieth-Century Magazine Illustration

The use of visual images as historical documents offers media historians two ways of thinking about the past. We may study images for clues to values held by media practioners and their audiences in various eras. We may also ask why certain images have been preserved over time and now serve as frames for our modern-day versions of these periods. This paper examines two very different visual depictions of American womanhood in magazines during "the golden age of illustration," roughly the first third of the twentieth century.

One of those visions dominates our popular memory of the period. Most Americans "remember" the early twentieth century in terms of the Gibson Girl and the flapper, illustrators' creations that we have come to use as symbols of an era of dramatic change for women. Yet women's status in American society--their social roles and their political status, despite the achievement of suffrage in 1920--did *not* undergo major and lasting change during this period. Moreover, millions of American women continued to shape their self-images and live their lives in terms of ideals rooted in domesticity and motherhood--the other vision of womanhood in magazine illustrations.

The creators of these contrasting images were divided not only by viewpoint, but also by gender. The male illustrators of the day (names we still remember, such as Charles Dana Gibson, Howard Chandler Christy, and John Held, Jr.) drew "girls"; the female illustrators of the day (names we rarely remember) drew mothers--women. This paper argues that women illustrators' representations of domesticity, of women as mature and responsible rather than young and carefree, was an assertion of female dignity and agency in an era of popular culture that often trivialized female identities and concerns.

The following discussion surveys the work of both men and women illustrators of the day, with particular attention to the most successful and prolific of the women, Jessie Willcox Smith. Smith's work is representative of that of her female peers and of the domestic ideal in magazine illustration; it also echoes the maternal rhetoric of the women social reformers of the Progressive era. Her own life resembled the circumstances of other successful women of her day, as well, in that she had a network of women companions who did similar work and who gave her the personal and professional support she needed to have a major career.

Smith is best known for her drawings of mothers and children, especially children. She herself never had children, she lived her entire adult life with other unmarried women, and her artistic identity was formed within a group of women illustrators who competed aggressively for work and achieved success comparable with men. Her work brought her national fame and wealth (her friends jokingly called her "The Mint"[1]). Yet her surroundings were conservative--she lived among

Philadelphia's social elite, whose children she painted and whose patronage she courted--and she professed domestic ideology. She called marriage and motherhood "the ideal life for a woman"[2] and described her career as "one long joyous road along which troop delightful children."[3]

This paper employs two methodological tools, textual analysis and biography, to rethink modern assumptions about media culture and women's status in the early twentieth century. In its emphasis on women's history, the paper considers women not only as objects and consumers of media culture, but also as some of its producers. It echoes the assertion of feminist art critic Janet Wolff that art is a social product and that historical conditions affect "who becomes an artist [and] how they become an artist," as well as what they produce.[4]

Women in the Golden Age of Illustration

During the late nineteenth century in America, art historian Catherine Stryker explains, "women were accepted in illustration because drawing and painting were supposedly a natural part of their refined and sympathetic personalities."[5] Between 1870 and 1890, the number of professional women artists in America rose from about 400 to nearly 11,000, roughly half the total number of artists in the country.[6] In fact, by the turn of the century, some critics felt that women's presence in the profession of illustration, combined with the predominantly female readership of magazines, was "feminizing" the field.[7] Wrote one newspaper art reviewer in 1906, "It is quite impossible to take up any of the leading magazines or periodicals without finding illustrations done by one or more women artists . . . [with] names familiar to many homes."[8]

Those women illustrators, along with their male peers, had increasing opportunities for periodical work. In the late 1890s, advances in printing technology made it possible for magazines to reproduce color illustrations clearly and relatively inexpensively. At the same time, the subsidy of national advertising reduced the cost of producing magazines, making them widely affordable (during the early 1900s, most general-interest magazines sold for about 10 cents). Audiences were growing rapidly, and some magazines had readerships exceeding one million[9]; between 1905 and 1928, total U. S. magazine circulation doubled, from 17 million to 34 million.[10] The twin forces of immigration and urbanization, both of which peaked during the first two decades of the new century, helped to create these huge audiences, who looked to the popular monthlies as guides to manners, lifestyle, and upward mobility. Because the literacy rate varied within the new mass audiences, illustrations were a key selling point for magazines.[11]

By the teens and twenties, notes art historian Rowland Elzea, illustrators "shared with matinee idols and sports figures the role of folk heroes--discussed, compared, revered and collected"; they played a "dual role of entertainer and enlightener."[12] Like other celebrities, they were not just well known but well paid. Charles Dana Gibson received $1,000 for each of the 100 "Gibson Girl" covers he drew for *Collier's* during the first decade of the century; the magazine paid the same rate to Frederic Remington.[13] The annual incomes of Gibson, Harrison Fisher, and Howard Chandler Christy were estimated at more than $50,000.[14]

Jessie Willcox Smith led women earners in the field, with an estimated annual income of $12,000 in 1910,[15] and that figure rose in the following years. Smith was paid between $1,500 and $1,800 for each of the nearly 200 *Good Housekeeping* covers she did between 1917 and 1933; from this one magazine, she made more than a quarter of a million dollars, in addition to what she earned illustrating books and painting portraits of the children of the Philadelphia elite.[16]

The period's greatest illustrators had considerable prestige within the art world--one, James Montgomery Flagg, wrote that "to be reproduced in *Scribner's* in 1904 was the same thing to an illustrator as being hung in the Paris Salon was to a painter"[17]--along with huge public followings. Smith regularly received fan letters from readers of the magazines in which her illustrations appeared, strangers who wrote to her as personally, even lovingly, as if she were a member of their families.[18] Many of her admirers were mothers, teachers, and children, and most of them wanted to know about her background and personal life. This story--which she briefly shared with her public in an autobiographical sketch she wrote for the October 1917 *Good Housekeeping*, and which has been more fully reconstructed by several art historians--does, in fact, offer important insights into her art, and that of other women in the field.

A Women's Art Community

Jessie Willcox Smith was born in 1863 in Philadelphia, the city where she would live and work most of her life.[19] She trained to be a kindergarten teacher but soon found that "children appealed to me more as pictures than as pupils."[20] Like many creative women of her era, Smith maintained that her talent was "discovered quite by accident" but admitted that she "began almost at once to draw little things for the children's magazines."[21] The start of her career was not as accidental as she claimed; the first sale of one of her "little things" (to a children's magazine, *St. Nicholas*) occurred only after she had studied art for three years.

Fortunately for Smith, her native city was home to some of the nation's major art schools, and those schools had a tradition of training women as well as men.[22] In 1885, she entered the Philadelphia School of Design for Women but was disappointed with its focus on craftwork and its view of its students as hobbyists. Later that year she entered the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where she studied under the painters Thomas Anschutz and Thomas Eakins.

In 1889, Smith took a salaried job in the advertising department of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, then based in Philadelphia. Some of her work there, such as the ads she drew for Ivory Soap during the 1890s, featured children and foreshadowed her future editorial work.[23] After five years, she enrolled in the first illustration class ever offered at the Drexel Institute of Arts and Sciences, under Howard Pyle, one of the pioneers of magazine illustration.[24]

Pyle's classes set the foundations for Smith's career and for her personal life. There, she found a teacher who took her seriously, forced her to test her own limits as an artist, and provided her with her first important contacts within the publishing industry; she studied with students (including Maxfield Parrish) who would later be some of the most successful illustrators of the early twentieth-century; and she met Violet Oakley and Elizabeth Shippen Green, two fellow students who would become her studiomates, housemates, and lifelong friends.

One-third of Pyle's students were women, many of whom--with Smith and Green at their core--created the domestic scenes that would later challenge the girlish creations of male illustrators. These women quickly formed a community of friendship, and several of them set up studios and/or homes together. One group to do so was Smith, Green, Oakley, and another Pyle student named Jessie Dowd. Such a living arrangement was not uncommon at the time. As John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman have noted, in the early twentieth century, college-educated women professionals who remained single often created households with each other, jointly owning property, vacationing together, and becoming involved in the lives of each other's families. (Similar households were established by well-known women in various fields, including social reformers Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, Bryn Mawr president M. Carey Thomas, and novelist Willa Cather.)[25]

In their shared Philadelphia home and studio, the women artists critiqued each other's work and occasionally served as models for each other's illustrations.[26] But what their partnership primarily provided was the financial and moral support each one needed to embark on a full-time career. In 1900, Smith, Green, and Oakley moved to the suburb of Bryn Mawr,[27] where they were joined by Henrietta Cozens, a friend of Green's and an expert gardener whose outdoor labors created a backdrop for Smith's pictures of children. Cozens oversaw the household affairs so that her housemates could devote their full attention to their work.[28]

These were indeed productive years for the artists. Smith had left the *Journal*'s advertising department (where Green had also briefly worked) in 1898 to concentrate on book commissions. She was becoming known for her realistic but upbeat style, which one art critic, writing in 1900, described as "definite and frank . . . vital and strong."[29] In 1902, Smith and Green collaborated on *The Book of the Child*, a collection of their best drawings of children,[30] which gained national attention.[31] Green, who by then had more than 100 magazine illustration credits to her name--mainly domestic scenes--began an exclusive contract with the various *Harper's* magazines that would be renewed through 1924. Smith's work was winning awards in the art world[32] and exposure in the commercial world, appearing inside magazines such as *Scribner's*, *Collier's*, and *Century* and on the covers of the *Journal* and *McClure's*.

In 1904, *Collier's* offered Smith a two-year, exclusive contract, putting her in distinguished company: other illustrators thus engaged by the magazine at the time were Maxfield Parrish, Charles Dana Gibson, and Frederic Remington.[33] During her contract period, the magazine printed nearly 40 of her drawings, more than two dozen of them covers.[34] This work extended her reputation as a specialist in children and led to her next major commission, the illustrations for a 1905 edition of Robert Louis Stevenson's *A Child's Garden of Verses.*[35]

It was at this time that Smith and her roommates moved to a nearby farm that would be considered an artists' colony for the next three decades. They named it Cogslea--after the first letter of each woman's last name (Cozens, Oakley, Green, and Smith) plus "lea," an English suffix meaning "meadow." The community received flattering attention from the press. In 1906, a women's magazine writer--who offered their partnership as an example of how women could succeed in art--called them "types of the modern, capable, thoroughly self-sufficient yet charmingly public-spirited American girl."[36] Most publicity about the group, however, cast them not as trendsetters, but rather as Victorian gentlewomen. One journalist of the day called them "very clever young women [who] lived out their daily artistic lives under one roof in the gentle comraderie of some Old World 'school' . . . ."[37] This was much how they were received by their wealthy, socially-prominent neighbors, who sent their children over to be painted by Smith and Green and invited the artists to discuss their work at luncheons.[38]

The Cogslea women took care of not only each other, but also each other's families and friends. The property was, on various occasions, home to ill or elderly relatives including Smith's brother and aunt, Green's parents, and Oakley's mother.[39] They entertained other women artists, including Charlotte Harding Brown and Alice Barber Stephens (who themselves had once shared a home and studio), as well as Ethel Franklin Betts. In 1911, Elizabeth Shippen Green married Philadelphia architect Huger Elliott, with whom she moved away. Yet the couple built a house on the Cogslea property, where they stayed on frequent visits and Green sometimes worked.[40] In 1913, a new artist moved in: Edith Emerson, a muralist and student of Violet Oakley.[41]

At Cogslea, Smith continued her ascending career as a book illustrator, with works including a 1915 edition of Louisa May Alcott's classic, *Little Women*, and Charles Kingsley's *The Water Babies* (1916).[42] She took advertising commisions and, after the expiration of her *Collier's* contract in 1906, did covers for *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *McClure's*, and *Woman's Home Companion*. She also contributed inside illustrations to *Harper's Bazaar*, *Scribner's*, and *Good Housekeeping*.

It was the last magazine that offered Smith the work that would earn her a place in magazine history. In 1917, she accepted a contract to be the exclusive cover artist for *Good Housekeeping*, and she continued in this role until March 1933, two years before her death.[43] For 16 years, Smith presented her view of mothers and children--especially children--on the magazine's covers.

Maternal Scenes in the Age of the Gibson Girl and the Flapper

Today, such material seems predictable for a woman artist working 80 years ago. Yet Smith's domestic vision was out of sync with a changing view of womanhood that dominated popular culture in the new century. The first three decades of the twentieth century might, in fact, be best characterized as "the Age of the Girl" in American media and entertainment.

Charles Dana Gibson's[44] drawings of young women in *Collier's* magazine are among the best-remembered images of American women in the early twentieth century. One art historian describes the "Gibson Girl" as an "superior" being who "moved with easy assurance and rarely betrayed any emotion beyond the ghost of a smile . . . . the Gibson formula [was] a narrow waist and long shapely legs, a full but trim bosom, clearcut, aloof features, and that princess gaze."[45]

During the first decades of the 1900s, the Gibson Girl appeared not only in the pages of *Collier's*, but also on wallpaper, scarves, ashtrays, and pillow covers, and in popular songs and plays. [46] Soon there were imitators: the "Fisher Girls" drawn by Harrison Fisher for *Cosmopolitan* (then a general-interest magazine) and the "Christy Girls" drawn by Howard Chandler Christy for *Scribner's* and *McClure's*. Harrison Fisher attributed the success of such images to the fact "that what the public desired most to look at was a pretty girl."[47]

By the 1910s, such beautiful but self-absorbed creatures could be seen in other types of popular culture of the day, as well. The new medium of the movies featured young actresses named for their studios, such as "The Biograph Girl" and "The Vitagraph Girl"; Clara Bow, a movie-star "flapper," became known as "The 'It' Girl." The greatest girl star of all was Mary Pickford, who played child roles into her thirties.[48] In the titles and lyrics of popular sheet music--another mass medium that sold in the millions-per-copy--women were called girls or gals and were portrayed as manipulative, selfish, and immature, looking out for their own interests and uninterested in commitment. Hit songs included "There's a Little Bit of Bad in Every Good Little Girl" and "Danger (Look Out for that Gal!)."[49] The sensation on Broadway was the Ziegfeld Follies, which ran from 1907 to 1931 and featured a parade of tall, beautifully-dressed but blank-faced "Ziegfeld Girls."[50]

Perhaps inspired by the show of legs in the *Ziegfeld Follies*, a number of male magazine illustrators began to draw bathing beauties. One was Alberto Vargas, whose "Vargas Girls" appeared in *Esquire* beginning in the 1920s. Another was Coles Phillips, who was also known for his "fadeaway girls," slim young women who seemed to simply disappear into the background.[51]

By the 1920s, some male illustrators' depictions of girls bore little relationship at all to flesh-and-blood females. Maxfield Parrish was drawing fantasy girls--ethereal and otherwordly, figments of the imagination--for *Life* (then a humor magazine) and other periodicals. *Life*'s main contribution to the image of women, however, was John Held's "flapper," who appeared on hundreds of the magazine's covers during the decade. These women were not only "shameless and selfish" (the words one flapper used to describe herself in a 1922 *New York Times* article)[52]; they were cartoons, caricatures.[53]

Held's flappers offer perhaps the best evidence of, to quote cultural historian Martha Banta, "the part popular visual representations of the New Woman have had in transforming the type into a harmless joke."[54] His vision of womanhood is also as far from maternal as possible: one scholar who has surveyed women's body images in the twentieth century describes the flapper type as "remarkable for the near absence of female sexual characteristics,"[55] and Held's creations--skinny, flat-chested, hipless--fit the bill.

In the meantime, something very different was going on in the art of women illustrators, especially the work they did for women's magazines. In these pictures, women were drawn as mature adults and often shown with children--the definitive clue that a woman is no longer a girl, and is no longer carefree. One magazine writer of the day noted that "The Gibson and Christie (*sic*) type is almost wholly absent from the ranks of the woman artist."[56]

Jessie Willcox Smith was only the best-known of many women illustrators of her era who specialized in drawing mothers and children. The pioneer of this tradition was Alice Barber Stephens, whose maternal images had appeared in *Century*, *Scribner's*, the *Harper's* magazines, and *The Ladies' Home Journal* beginning in the 1880s, and who was still working in the early twentieth century. Elizabeth Shippen Green created similar scenes for the *Harper's* magazines as well as *The Ladies' Home Journal* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. Like Smith, she often drew mothers bending down or leaning over, helping or paying attention to a child. The way women "looked" in these illustrations had less to do with their personal appearances than with their activities and settings.

Other women working in this genre were regularly employed by national magazines. They included Sarah Stilwell, Ethel Franklin Betts, Charlotte Harding Brown, Ellen Bernard Thompson, Alice Beard, Katharine Richardson, Mary Ellen Sigsbee, Ada Clendenin Williamson, Frances Tipton Hunter, Maud Humphrey, sisters Maude and Genevieve Cowles, and Neysa McMein.

Some of these artists were associated primarily with general-interest magazines--from Brown's steady work in the early 1900s for *Century* to Ellen Bernard Thompson's affiliation with *The Saturday Evening Post* in the 1920s--even though their subject matter was domestic. Yet most of the women found their best markets in the major women's magazines: *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Woman's Home Companion*, and *McCall's*. While Smith was engaged in her long association with *Good Housekeeping*, Neysa McMein was under contract (from 1923 to 1937) as the exclusive cover artist for *McCall's*.[57]

Eleven of the sixteen women listed above[58] were students of Howard Pyle between 1894 and 1910. Art historian Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein notes the similarity of not only subject matter but also style in their work and offers this consistency as evidence that "teachers are not the only influence on a student body: *Students teach one another*. The women students of Pyle were such good friends that their artistic style was affected by mutually shared influences."[59]

Philip Hale, a newspaper art critic writing in 1907, noticed the difference between the way women illustrators drew women and the way their male counterparts drew girls. In a column titled "Women Surpassing Men Illustrators"-(which began by calling Jessie Willcox Smith "an excellent example" of women's work in the field) Hale coyly suggested one reason for women artists' popularity:

> Possibly they--ah, malicious sex--don't find the Gibson girl, with her French doll eyes, her tip-tilted nose, her chin bent to one side, so fascinating as do our guileless men--illustrators and others. Their girls--the ones these women make--have an individuality . . . which our good men are afraid to inject in their creations, for fear people will say they "can't make a lady."[60]

Motherhood in Life and Art

The fact that the women illustrators portrayed women not only as realistic-looking adults, but specifically as *mothers* is significant. Motherhood was a controversial and much-discussed topic in the Age of the Girl.

White supremists feared that falling childbirth rates among native-born, middle-class, white women, in the face of the swelling immigrant population, would lead to "race suicide," a phrase even the politically moderate Theodore Roosevelt used. *Ladies' Home Journal* editor Edward Bok urged his readers to make motherhood, rather than suffrage or economic advancement, their priority,[61] while a discussion of birth control in 1911 and 1912 issues of *Good Housekeeping* prompted letters to the editor in which readers called childless women selfish.[62] Aggravating such concerns was the fact that many college-educated women were remaining single and pursuing careers[63] and limited numbers of other young women were emulating the sexually-free, hedonistic life of the flapper.

Neverthless, the majority of American women *did* continue to marry and have children, and married women who were unable to conceive went to great lengths to adopt.[64] These women, writes social historian Elaine Tyler May, were devoted to home and family and likely to "place hopes for happiness in their children."[65] The domestic lifestyle was idealized by "maternalists," female social reformers (such as members of the National Congress of Mothers) whose goals overlapped with the growing feminist movement. Twentieth-century maternalism, notes social-welfare historian Molly Ladd-Taylor, was "an ideology rooted in the nineteenth-century doctrine of separate spheres" and based on the premise "that there is a uniquely feminine value system based on care and nurturance."[66]

Other female reformers encouraged American women to engage in "civic housekeeping," an extension of the moral and domestic standards of the home into the larger society through volunteer work and women's clubs.[67] Older activists, especially suffragists[68], criticized young women who felt no obligations to home and community and instead pursued a bohemian life.[69] As historian Ann Douglas has noted, this generational tension was presented in the media of the day as a battle between women and girls, between mothers and daughters.[70]

Like the social reformers, Jessie Willcox Smith--who was in her mid-fifties when she began her nearly-two-decade association with *Good Housekeeping*, her best-known work--came down squarely on the side of mothers, whose work she took seriously. She took the children she drew seriously, too. She drew most of them in outdoor settings, which she considered more natural than drawing-room poses.[71] Like the mothers she drew, her children were lifelike; to quote a reader who wrote to *Good Housekeeping* in 1926, they "really look like children."[72]

Some of her child subjects appeared adorably cheerful, but many others seemed perplexed, curious, or surprised. One critic of the day praised the "sympathetically human feeling" in Smith's work, adding that "she touches the simple, homely sides of life with a loving hand, yet with a degree of fine insight which keeps the sentiment of her work far from the banal."[73] The artist Edith Emerson wrote that Smith's children "attract and win without guile."[74] Her biographer, S. Michael Schnessel, notes that her portraits "were so universal, so representative of the American youngsters that the publication [*Good Housekeeping*] received numerous letters from concerned mothers in all parts of the country saying basically the same thing: 'Where did you steal my child?'"[75]

A writer for *Woman's Home Companion* claimed that "woman's innate maternal love" gave women illustrators an advantage in drawing children, and she singled out Smith's drawings as art "only a woman's eye and hand could create."[76] Smith and other women illustrators did little to contradict such assumptions. In fact, Smith created a maternal public image for herself, speaking glowingly of children and the job of motherhood. She looked and acted the part. Photographs of her taken at different ages present a consistently Victorian picture: a serious expression, her hair in a bun, a high-necked, long dress, soft lighting. Acquaintances described her as reserved, soft-spoken, kind, and modest. Edith Emerson remembered that her friend showed "no trace of self-assertion."[77]

Schnessel considers Smith's choice of "scenes of motherly love" ironic and "undeniably sad"--"a dominant theme that speaks volumes about her own needs and desires."[78] Nevertheless, he adds that "Spinsterhood never seemed to trouble her, and she rarely spoke with regret about not having married. She was not without suitors in her youth and in her middle years . . . . she annually hosted a Swiss businessman who came to the United States once each year. Annually he made a proposal of marriage, and annually she would refuse."[79]

One explanation for Smith's lack of regret--or concern--over her own unmarried state was the strong network of friends that she built around herself. This Victorian woman who idealized family life in her art made her own family not of children and a husband, but of other women. Her support system extended beyond Cogslea through her personal and professional contacts with other women illustrators. Smith's correspondence also reveals a close relationship with another woman named Jessie, perhaps the artist Jessie Dowd, her former roommate.[80]

A second explanation is that she held--or, at any rate, expressed--clear views on in the impossibility of combining motherhood and career. She told a journalist in 1927, "A woman's sphere is as sharply defined as a man's. If she elects to be a housewife and mother--that is her sphere, and no other. If on the other hand she elects to go into business or the arts, she must sacrifice motherhood in order to fill successfully her chosen sphere." The writer added, however, that Smith considered an unmarried woman's sphere to be as wide as a man's.[81]

Smith's partnership with Green and Oakley, and her community of women artists, gave her the emotional and financial base from which she could explore that wider sphere. It also enabled her to draw her own vision of American womanhood at a time when popular-culture images of women were not particularly flattering. That she succeeded in both of these endeavors was evident in the fact that she became a major illustrator with a consistent and widely-recognized theme. S. Michael Schnessel notes that "One remarkable aspect of Smith's illustration . . . is that her works are often seen alone without accompanying text. It was thought that her works had enough of a following to stand on their own. Few artists achieved the same privilege . . . ."[82]

An Alternative View of Womanhood

Such popularity suggests that Smith's view of family life struck a chord (or a nerve) among readers despite--or perhaps because of--the prevalence of the caricaturized "girl" image in media and entertainment and the cultural illusion of newness and change in women's lives. What Smith and other women illustrators offered readers was an alternative view of womanhood, one that was relatively unchanging and yet consistently respectful.

This is not to say that American women continued to consider motherhood the only career available to them in the new century. Nor it is to deny the cultural existence of "the New Woman" as a concept that symbolized real political and economic gains for women during the 1910s and 1920s. Yet to a significant extent, the idea of a new woman was co-opted in popular culture and transformed into a "modern girl" who was more amusing than progressive.[83]

Given that interpretation of progress, women illustrators (and their audience) may have chosen to identify with images that depicted a less drastic transformation in women's lives. In much the same way maternalist reformers used domestic rhetoric, these artists used images of motherhood to assert women's social agency. At the same time, their own lives and careers offer a glimpse of what was actually possible for professional women in the early twentieth century.

Jessie Willcox Smith and her female peers are worth inclusion in media histories because they are major figures in magazine illustration. But they are important in a larger sense as well. By using their art as a lens through which to look back on the early years of mass-market magazines, we see a different picture of womanhood, one that offers a fresh perspective on the Gibson Girl and the flapper. The recovery and preservation of that alternative view enriches our understanding of the American media past.

NOTES

[1] S. Michael Schnessel, *Jessie Willcox Smith* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1977), 44.

[2] Catherine Connell Stryker, *The Studios at Cogslea*, Exhibition catalog, February 20-28, 1976 (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1976), 12.

[3] Jessie Willcox Smith, "Jessie Willcox Smith," *Good Housekeeping* 65 (October 1917): 190.

[4] Janet Woolf, *The Social Production of Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 1, 40.

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[5] Stryker, 5.

[6] Kirsten N. Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of a Professional Ideal in American Art, 1870-1920*, Dissertation, Yale University, 1995, 6-7.

[7] Swinth; also, Michelle Bogart, "Artistic Ideals and Commercial Practices: The Problem of Status for American Illustrators," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 15 (1990): 225-81. Bogart argues that this feminization was one of the factors that detracted from the status of illustration as an art and the tendency of male illustrators to downplay the role of women in the field. For instance, for the first five years of its existence, a new professional organization, the New York-based Society of Illustrators, admitted 88 members, only five of them women. Among those five, however, were Smith and her two roommates, Elizabeth Shippen Green and Violet Oakley (237). Swinth makes the same argument with regard to the field of painting, in which women made significant professional gains around the turn of the century.

[8] Helen Hale, "Hints to Young but Ambitious Artists from Some of the Most Famous Women Illustrators," *Chicago Examiner* January 22, 1906: n. p., in Elizabeth Shippen Green scrapbook, Archives of American Art, microfilm roll P5. Among the names Hale mentioned were Elizabeth Shippen Green and Alice Barber Stephens.

[9] Among the magazines with more than a million readers in the first decade of the twentieth century were *The Saturday Evening Post* and *The Ladies' Home Journal.*

[10] Bogart, 67.

[11] Information in this paragraph comes from Bogart; John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Amy Janello and Brennon Jones, *The American Magazine* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991).

[12] Roland Elzea, Introduction, *Howard Pyle* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975). Book not paginated.

[13] Janello and Jones, 168.

[14] "Modern Picture Making and Its Generous Rewards: How a Group of Illustrators Is Reaping Fortunes by Drawing Pictures of the 'Modern Girl,'" *The Philadelphia Public Ledger* February 6, 1910: n.p., in Elizabeth Shippen Green scrapbook, roll P5, Archives of American Art. This income range for top talents of the era is confirmed in Janello and Jones, 168-69.

[15] "Modern Picture Making . . . ." The article estimated Elizabeth Shippen Green's income at $10,000.

[16] Schnessel, 135; Gene Mitchell, *The Subject Was Children: The Art of Jessie Willcox Smith* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979), 3. Smith also negotiated royalty clauses in her magazine- and book-illustration contracts, and much of her income by the 1920s came from the commercial uses of reproductions (as, for instance, posters and postcards) of her cover art. Evidence of royalty income from various sources can be found in Smith's personal papers (1901-1931) in the Archives Department of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Pa. Other papers indicate that she resold illustrations for high prices to wealthy Philadelphians. On a 1924 exhibition checklist, Smith handwrote the prices she received for 54 of her paintings that had been used as magazine and book illustrations; 40 sold at $150 and above, a few for $300 ("Portraits, Drawings and Illustrations by Jessie Willcox Smith," exhibition list, December 4-28, 1924, in the records

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of The Philadelphia Art Alliance, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Coll. 53, Folder 624.)

[17] Janello and Jones, 169.

[18] More than a hundred examples, from every part of the U. S., survive in the archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

[19] The biographical information in this and following sections, on Smith's background, education, career, living arrangements, and friends is confirmed in a number of sources, among them: Mitchell; Smith herself (the *Good Housekeeping* article); Schnessel; Stryker; Edward D. Nudelman, *Jessie Willcox Smith: A Bibliography* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing, 1989); Patricia Likos, "The Ladies of the Red Rose," *The Feminist Art Journal* 5 (fall 1976): 11-15, 43; Smith's *New York Times* obituary ("Miss Jessie Smith, Illustrator, Dead," May 4, 1935, 13); her papers in the archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; and the papers and scrapbooks of Smith, Elizabeth Shippen Green, and Violet Oakley viewed on microfilm from the Archives of American Art, Washington, DC. However, quotations and other very specific pieces of information are attributed to individual sources.

[20] Letter from Smith to "Mr. Abbott," n. d., in Smith's personal papers in the archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

[21] Smith, 24-25.

[22] According to Christine Jones Huber, *The Pennsylvania Academy and Its Women, 1850 to 1920*, Exhibition catalog, May 3-June 16, 1973 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1974), the Pennsylvania Academy began accepting women students in 1844, the same year the School of Design for Women was founded (11-12). At the Academy, classes were segregated by gender until the 1870s (21).

[23] Mitchell, 7.

[24] According to Walt Reed, *The Illustrator in America, 1900-1960s* (New York: Reinhold, 1966), Pyle's career began in the 1870s with illustrations for *Harper's* magazine. Reed considers Pyle the greatest illustrator ever (13). His career is also surveyed in Charles D. Abbott, *Howard Pyle: A Chronicle* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1925) and Henry C. Pitz, *Howard Pyle: Writer, Illustrator, Founder of the Brandywine School* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1975).

[25] John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 190-91. The Cogslea women were professionally acquainted with the women mentioned here: Green drew calendars and Oakley drew murals for Bryn Mawr, suggesting an acquaintance with Thomas; Oakley later became involved in the peace movement and painted a portrait of Addams; and Smith sold some of her work to Cather while the latter was managing editor of *McClure's*, from 1908 to 1912. Addams' and Thomas's partnerships are mentioned in D'Emilio and Freedman, 190-91; Wald is discussed in Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman," *Chrysalis* 3 (1977): 43-61; Cather's relationships with women are discussed in many biographies, including Sharon O'Brien, *Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[26] Likos, 14.

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[27] Jessie Dowd had by then moved back to her native Ohio. In Bryn Mawr, they leased the Red Rose Inn, a home described in detail in Mary Tracy Earle, "The Red Rose," *The Lamp: A Review and Record of Current Literature* 26 (May 1903): 275-86.

[28] In this sense, Cozens performed a support service for her housemates that most women artists lacked. Another American painter, Anna Lea Merritt, addressed this problem in a magazine article: "The chief obstacle to a woman's success," she wrote in 1900, "is that she can never have a wife. Just reflect what a wife does for an artist: Darns his stockings; Keeps his house; Writes his letters; Visits for his benefit; Wards off intruders; Is personally suggestive of beautiful pictures; Always an encouraging and partial critic. It is exceedingly difficult to be an artist without this time-saving help." (Anna Lea Merritt, "A Letter to Artists, Especially Women Artists," *Lippincott Monthly Magazine*, 65 [March 1900]: 467-8.)

[29] Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Decorative Workers," *The Critic* June 1900: 523.

[30] Accompanied by poetry written by Mabel Humphrey.

[31] The same year, Oakley, who had begun painting murals, was asked to decorate the Governor's Reception Room in the new state capitol building at Harrisburg--which, according to Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein (*American Women Artists from Early Indian Times to the Present* [New York: Avon, 1982], 159), was the largest public mural commission ever awarded to a woman in the United States. Oakley did continue to illustrate for some magazines, however, including *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *Century*, *Everybody's*, and *Collier's*. One cover for the latter publication, dated June 21, 1902, depicted the studiomates around the dinner table, with their glasses raised in a toast, though only her own and Smith's faces are visible. This cover is reproduced in Edward J. Sozanski, "Keeping a Legacy Alive," *The Philadelphia Inquirer* August 9, 1987, p. 1-D.

[32] These prizes included the bronze medal at a 1902 international exposition in Charleston, S. C.; the Mary Smith Prize, for the best work by a woman artist, from the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1903 (which Green would win in 1905); and the Silver Medal for illustration at the 1904 St. Louis International Exposition. The Gold Medal at the latter event was won by Violet Oakley. (Schnessel, 38, 40-41; Elizabeth Shippen Green papers, microfilm roll P5, Archives of American Art)

[33] "Exclusively for *Collier's*" [editor's page], *Collier's* October 14, 1905: 21.

[34] Smith did another 16 illustrations, nine of them covers, for the magazine between 1906 and 1916, when she was no longer under contract.

[35] The book included 15 large drawings and 100 small ones, for which she received a total payment of $3,600. (Letter from J. H. Chapin, Scribner's Magazine Art Department, to Smith, d. December 23, 1903, in Smith's personal papers in the archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.)

[36] Jessie Trimble, "Studying and Succeeding in Art," *New Idea Woman's Magazine* n.d., 1900: 14, in Elizabeth Shippen Green scrapbook, roll P5, Archives of American Art. Note the use of the word "girl" and "young" in this and the next quote--despite the fact that Smith then was in her forties and Green and Oakley were in their thirties.

[37] Harrison S. Morris, "Jessie Willcox Smith," *The Book Buyer* 24 (1902): 201. Quoted in Stryker, 10.

[38] Oakley in particular spoke frequently at such upscale social events and later offered art classes and a lecture series for society women. The three artists were also

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members of The Philadelphia Art Alliance, founded in 1915 by Christine Wetherill Stevenson, the daughter of Philadelphia real-estate magnate Samuel Price Wetherill. The group's patrons included the city's social elite and prominent businessmen. For instance, a Mrs. Edward Biddle was on the founding board of directors, and during the 1920s Edward Bok, the then-retired editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, served as an honorary vice-president (Theo B. White, *The Philadelphia Art Alliance: Fifty Years, 1915-1965* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965], 32, 62). Another example of the women's social acceptance was their involvement in the homefront war effort during World War I, when Smith and Green illustrated posters and calendars to help raise money for the Red Cross, and Oakley painted murals for 25 U. S. battleships.

[39] Smith also helped to financially support eleven of her nieces and nephews.

[40] Chestnut Hill Historical Society, "The Artistic Legacy of Cogslea: Past and Present: A Walking Tour of the Environs of Cogslea" [pamphlet] (Chestnut Hill, Pa., May 6, 1995). Correspondence and photographs belonging to Green and Smith indicate that the two worked together at Cogslea--Smith taking photographs of scenes used in Green's book illustrations--as late as the 1920s (Jessie Willcox Smith Photographs [Coll. P.9446, Boxes 1-3], Prints Department, The Library Company, Philadelphia).

[41] Emerson and Oakley had the barn at Cogslea remodeled into a living and work space, since they needed its size for their murals; they called the barn "Lower Cogslea." Meanwhile, Smith bought property adjacent to the farm and built a house for herself and Henrietta Cozens, calling it "Cogshill."

[42] Other important book work Smith did during this period included Carolyn Wells' *The Seven Ages of Childhood* (1909; some of these illustrations later appeared in *The Ladies' Home Journal*); *Dickens' Children* (1910; some would appear in *Scribner's*); and Smith's own *The Little Mother Goose* (1915).

[43] Smith's long association with *Good Housekeeping* no doubt cemented her social reputation as conservative and conventional, despite her professional success and personal lifestyle. In its announcement that Smith had become the magazine's exclusive cover artist, the editors wrote: "Certainly no other artist is so fitted to understand us, and to make for us pictures so truly an index to what we as a magazine are striving for--the holding up to our readers of the highest ideals of the American home, the home with that certain sweet wholesomeness one associates with a sunny living-room--and children." ("The Secret was about Covers," *Good Housekeeping* 65 [November 1917]: 32.)

[44] Information on Gibson and the other male illustrators discussed here is taken from several sources, including Pitz; Janello and Jones; Shelley Armitage, *John Held, Jr.: Illustrator of the Jazz Age* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987); *Maxfield Parrish: The Poster Book* (Berkeley, Calif.: Ten Speed Press, 1994); Walt and Roger Reed, *The Illustrator in America, 1880-1980* (New York: Madison Square Press, 1984); and two books by Walt Reed: *Great American Illustrators* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1979), and *The Illustrator in America, 1900-1960s* (New York: Reinhold, 1966).

[45] Gibson did at one point draw women as mothers--during World War I, when he served as head of the Committee on Public Information's Division of Pictorial Publicity. These illustrations often showed mothers sending their sons off to war. One example is reprinted in Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, Jr., *Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1994), 326.

[46] Pitz, 175-76.

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[47] "Modern Picture Making . . . ."

[48] See, for instance, William K. Everson, *American Silent Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

[49] "There's a Little Bit of Bad in Every Good Little Girl" by Grant Clarke and Fred Fisher (New York: Leo Feist, 1916); "Danger (Look Out for that Gal!)" by Charles O'Flynn and Eddie Kilfeather (New York: A. J. Stasny, 1928). Other titles from the era include: "You Never Can Be Too Sure about the Girls" by Rubey Cowan, Lew Brown, and Bobby Heath (New York: Broadway Music, 1917); "My Girl Has I Trouble (I Want This! I Want That!)" by Ted Fiorito and Gus Kahn (New York: Leo Feist, 1926); "When a Blonde Makes Up Her Mind" by Sammy Fain, Willie Raskin, and Irving Mills (New York: Jack Mills, 1925); "Red Hot Mamma" by Gilbert Wells, Bud Cooper, and Fred Rose (New York: Rainbow Music, 1924); and "Whose Little Heart Are You Breaking Now?" by Irving Berlin (New York: Waterson, Berlin, & Snyder Co., 1917). Copies of this music is in the Alice Marshall Collection at Penn State Harrisburg, Middletown, Pa. (Sheet Music, Box F).

[50] See Marjorie Farnsworth, *The Ziegfeld Follies* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956).

[51] As explained by Reed, *The Illustrator in America*, 65.

[52] Ruth Hooper, "Flapping Not Repented Of," *The New York Times Book Review and Magazine* July 16, 1922: 13.

[53] To be fair to Held, what he was no doubt really caricaturizing in his *Life* covers of the 1920s was the shallowness and self-preoccupation of American society itself during the decade. Still, it is significant that he used women's images to do this.

[54] Martha Banta, *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 62.

[55] Allan Mazur, "U. S. Trends in Feminine Beauty and Overadaptation," *The Journal of Sex Research* 22 (August 1986): 288.

[56] Trimble, 14.

[57] McMein was an exception to the genre described here in that she drew adult women (often sophisticated-looking) who were not always in the company of children; still, she did enough covers of babies and children to place her within this group in terms of both content and style. Specific magazine credits and biographical information for her and the other women can be found in: Huber; Schnessel; Reed, *The Illustrator in America*; Walt and Roger Reed; Donna G. Bachmann and Sherry Piland, *Women Artists: An Historical, Contemporary and Feminist Bibliography* (Metuchen, N. J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1978); Roland Elzea and Elizabeth Hawkes, eds., *A Small School of Art: The Students of Howard Pyle* (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1980); Regina Armstrong, "Representative American Women Illustrators: The Child Interpreters," *The Critic* May 1900: 417-30; Elizabeth Lore North, "Women Illustrators of Child Life," *The Outlook* 78 (1904): 271-80; and Anne E. Mayer, *Women Artists in the Howard Pyle Tradition*, Exhibition catalog, September 6-November 23, 1975 (Chadds Ford, Pa.: Brandywine River Museum, 1975).

[58] All but Humprey, Hunter, the Cowles sisters, and McMein. Hunter, however, was a Philadelphian and did study at the Pennsylvania Academy.

[59] Rubinstein, 159. It is probably also significant that all of these women artists *remained* in Philadelphia. Their career paths in this sense contrast with another group of male illustrators who trained at the Pennsylvania Academy but left their newspaper

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illustration jobs for painting careers, and left Philadelphia for New York--the "ashcan realists." Also known as "The Eight," this group (whose best-known members were Robert Henri and John Sloan) specialized in scenes of urban poverty and working-class life and later contributed to the Socialist magazine *The Masses* (Bennard B. Perlman, *Painters of the Ashcan School: The Immortal Eight* (New York: Dover Publications, 1979).

[60] Philip L. Hale, "Women Surpassing Men Illustrators." Newspaper name unknown, n. d., 1907. Uncredited clipping, Jessie Willcox Smith file in the library of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

[61] Bok articulated this position, which he maintained into the twentieth century, as early as 1890, when he wrote, ". . . sometimes I begin to wonder if woman is not progressing in the wrong direction, if she is not drifting away from that home anchorage for which God intended her. There is no mission so great or urgent which justifies a woman from leaving a home in which is her husband and her children." (*The Ladies' Home Journal* March 1890: 8, quoted in Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the* Ladies' Home Journal *and the* Saturday Evening Post, *1880-1910* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994], 83).

[62] Margaret Marsh and Wanda Ronner, *The Empty Cradle: Infertility in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 113, 116.

[63] Fifty-three percent of women who attended Bryn Mawr (to choose a Philadelphia example) between 1889 and 1908 did not marry; statistics were similar for alumnae of Wellesley College and the University of Michigan (D'Emilio and Freedman, 190).

[64] Marsh and Ronner; Elaine Tyler May, *Great Expectations: Marriage and Divorce in Post-Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). According to Marsh and Ronner, the average marriage rate among white American women has never fallen below 90 percent.

[65] May, 89.

[66] Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 3.

[67] The considerable involvement of women journalists and women's periodicals in the civic (or "municipal") housekeeping movement has been the subject of work by women journalism historians including Kathleen Endres and Agnes Hooper Gottlieb.

[68] Smith was neither a suffragist nor a club woman, although she maintained close friendships with women who were both (including Violet Oakley, one of the other artists with whom Smith shared a studio and a home).

[69] Margaret Marsh cites as examples of such criticism Margaret Slattery's 1918 book *The American Girl and Her Community* and Beatrice Forbes Robinson Hale's 1923 book *What's Wrong with Our Girls* (Marsh, *Suburban Lives* [New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990], 134-35, 212n18, 20).

[70] Ann Douglas, Chapter 6, "The 'Dark Legend' of Matricide," *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, 1995), 217-253. A 1922 newspaper article, for instance, described the flapper as a girl "who takes a man's point of view as her mother never could" (Hooper: 13).

[71] Such a choice reinforces what historian Margaret Marsh has described as the anti-urban sentiment of early-twentieth-century domestic ideology and the increasingly popular notion of "the suburb as the proper place to rear children" (*Suburban Lives*, 137).

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[72] Letter from Lucy Van Haney, Brooklyn, N. Y., to *Good Housekeeping*, d. November 28, 1926, in Smith's personal papers in the archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

[73] Earle, 79.

[74] Edith Emerson, "The Age of Innocence: Portraits of Jessie Willcox Smith," *The American Magazine of Art* 16 (July 1925): 342.

[75] Schnessel, 124. For instance, another letter written to Smith in 1926 read: "I was very much thrilled on seeing the November cover of *Good Housekeeping*, to find that my two darling children were portrayed thereon . . . . Little Freddie's every characteristic line and pose is so perfect, and Pamela's timid and wistful expression . . . Where and when did you see the children?" (Letter from Constance Bell Pearson, Beverly, Mass., to Smith d. October 28, 1926, in Smith's personal papers in the archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts).

[76] George Alfred Williams, "American Painters of Children," *Woman's Home Companion* 9 (September 1911): 15.

[77] Edith, Emerson, "An Appreciation," *Memorial Exhibition of the Work of Jessie Willcox Smith*, exhibition catalog, March 14-April 12, 1936 (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1936).

[78] Schnessel, 21.

[79] Schnessel, 46.

[80] Such relationships between and among women (which, in the case of couples, were sometimes called "Boston marriages") were socially accepted in an era "which valued female sensibility and female bonds (D'Emilio and Freedman, 191-92).

[81] A five-page, typed manuscript in Smith's personal papers, in the Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, with a notation that it was "possibly an enclosure belonging with letter from Louise Hillyer Armstrong to JWS, January 31, 1927."

[82] Schnessel, 162.

[83] Journalism historian Terry Hynes has also questioned the historical reality of the New Woman image and challenged the "selective memories" of historians of this era. Her 1981 content analysis of images of women in the editorial pages (both nonfiction and fiction) of American magazines between 1911 and 1930 showed far less change in their political and social status than most historians "remember." (Terry Hynes, "Magazine Portrayal of Women, 1911-1930," *Journalism Monographs* 72 [May 1981].)

"All Brides Are Not Beautiful:" The Rise of Charlotte Curtis at the New York Times

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Charlotte Curtis: Ambivalent Feminist at the New York Times

On October 18, 1988, in an old union hall half a block from the New York Times on 43rd Street in midtown Manhattan, a group of about 150 women held a celebration. The women, most of whom were either current or past employees of the Times, were celebrating a milestone in their personal and professional lives: the tenth anniversary of the settlement of a bitter and hard-fought sex discrimination lawsuit that the women had filed against the newspaper in 1974. [1]

Although the celebration was held for all women at the newspaper, the guests of honor were seven women who were the initial plaintiffs in the case; the women -- six of whom attended the event -- were known fondly as the "class of 1978." They were the ones who put their own jobs and careers on the line to fight their employer against what they thought of as injustices imposed on them and others for decades. Two of the original plaintiffs in the case, Joan Cook and Betsy Wade, stood near a table near the door, selling black-and-white tee-shirts bearing the words, "Free the New York Times."[2]

Absent from the celebration was one of the Times most well-known women, and one who, during the litigation, was considered one of the most powerful women on the newspaper. Charlotte Curtis, former women's page editor, op-ed editor and associate editor of the newspaper, died tragically of cancer the year before at age 58. She had worked on the Times for 25 years.

But Curtis probably would not have been celebrating along with the other women, even though the lawsuit was also a pivotal event in her life. A longtime supporter of labor unions and someone who is credited by many with expanding women's pages beyond the conventional recipes, wedding announcements and how-to stories, Curtis, ironically, did not take part in the lawsuit against the Times.[3] And her lack of participation in the suit would haunt her for the remaining years of her life; as one of the newspaper's most visible and influential women, the plaintiffs thought she could be a powerful ally. Now, nearly twenty years later, many are bitter at her role in the event.

Curtis' lack of participation in the suit is significant for several reasons. First, it illustrates the contradictions in the nature of the woman who rose in the power structure of the Times at a time when few if any women rose beyond mid-level management status. Curtis, as associate editor, was the first woman to have her name on the newspaper's masthead. It also illustrates the plight of pioneers like Curtis who rose in a male-dominated power structure. Should Curtis, as a manager, support other women with whom she sympathized and respected? By doing this, she would in many ways betray those men who supported and promoted her. Where should her sympathies lie?

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Curtis' rise at the Times came during the 1960s and 1970s, an era when few women held top editorial jobs at the nation's major newspapers. Some top news managers at the Times, including former publisher and current New York Times Co. Chairman A.O. Sulzberger and former Executive Editor A.M. Rosenthal, credit her rise to an extraordinary writing talent and the willingness to work hard. Her husband said it was because of a combination of diligence and a steely determination to succeed.[4] Some former co-workers and observers, including feminist author Gloria Steinem, who was an acquaintance of hers, say it went beyond that. They say she maneuvered by developing friendships with the men who ran the Times.[5] Curtis walked a fine line as she rose through the ranks of the male-dominated Times of the 1960s and 1970s. Her personal papers, closed to the public but made available to the author by Curtis' husband, indicate that it was a combination of this innovative style and her ability to cultivate friendships with top Times editors that enabled her to rise to the top ranks of that newspaper. In addition, she was at the right place at the right time. She came to the newspaper at a time when a top editor was seeking variety from the staid, competent, hard-news style that characterized the Times, and he saw her innovative style as a needed change of pace.

Curtis' personality was composed of a series of contradictions. She believed men and women were equal in every way, yet she opposed the use of "Ms." as a reference in the Times. She was a shy person who shunned personal confrontation, yet she often "took on" the rich and famous by quoting the ridiculous and self-incriminating comments they made at public gatherings; she was a vocal and long-time supporter of civil rights, yet she had ambivalent feelings about the growing feminist movement; and, while she was not reluctant to meet with the vice president of the Times to protest an editor's treatment of a friend or to criticize the demotion of a fellow employee, she did not join the sex discrimination lawsuit filed by many of her longtime co-workers on the Times.[6]

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Charlotte Murray Curtis was born on December 28, 1928, to a family of overachievers. Her father, George Morris Curtis, was a research surgeon at Ohio State University Hospital, and her mother, Lucile Atcherson Curtis, was a diplomat who was the first woman to be a field officer in the Foreign Service.[7] Charlotte often spoke about the dinnertime conversations that she and her younger sister, Mary, had with their parents as they grew up in Columbus, Ohio. "As a child, I was exposed to adult subjects at the dinner table. We children were drawn into discussion. We would make wild assertions, then we would be forced to defend them. We'd have arguments about the facts."[8] As she grew up, Curtis was in many ways the typical upper-middle class Midwesterner. She attended high school at the private and prestigious Columbus School for Girls, joined the Junior League as a young woman, and always wore expensive, classic but conservative clothing. Barely five feet tall, Curtis wore her red hair curled under in a tidy page boy, a hair style she would favor throughout her life.

When she was in high school, however, her personality began to change, and she started to challenge the conservative views of her father. Years later, she would laugh at the memory of flying the Soviet flag outside her parents' home on one July 4. [9] But, after her high school graduation in 1946, she attended a "proper" higher learning institution for one of her social and economic background: Vassar College. Completing her first year as a history major, Curtis decided that a newspaper job might be interesting for someone with her love for history and detail. She began her career during the summer of her freshman year at the Columbus Citizen, her hometown newspaper. Her interest in journalism -- and in hard news -- did not please her father and raised the eyebrows of her co-workers. "When I wanted to work at the city desk of the Columbus Citizen...they laughed," she said. "And then they said, 'We already have a woman.' That's the way it was those days. A paper had one woman reporter -- the one they kept for the kind of stories assigned to woman: articles about the bereaved or about abandoned children." [10]

Curtis' interest in newspapers may have gone beyond wanting to cover the news. It was also a way to rebel against her father, who did not believe well-bred young women worked at newspapers. Curtis recalled the "type" of person who worked on newspapers in the 1940s: "Certainly in the Middle West, nice people -- not just nice women, it was nice men -- didn't go into newspapering. Newspapering was a job for itinerants, for cab drivers, for railroad engineers. . . .if you weren't quite respectable. . .you went into this crazy business." [11] Curtis admitted that it was this tawdry aspect of the newspaper industry that drew her to it: "The fact that the business wasn't quite respectable obviously appealed to me. I adored the fact that I was doing something that wasn't quite respectable." [12]

Curtis enjoyed her three summers at the Citizen so much that she took a full-time job at the newspaper after she graduated from Vassar in 1950. She covered a variety of types of stories, including news, religion and society, and soon became society editor, a post that gave her great freedom. Puns began appearing in headlines, and the first black couple in the history the newspaper was pictured in a wedding announcement. [13]

Curtis appeared at first similar to the Junior League types she frequently covered: throughout her life, she dressed in simple, classic dresses and wore limited quantities of discreet gold jewelry. But physical appearance and manner was where the resemblance to a demure young woman ended. Her stories frequently ridiculed her subjects, focusing on their obsession with money and possessions and their oblivious attitude toward the rest of the world. As one magazine article said, "Charlotte seemed to regard society through a glass frostily, like a runaway daughter looking in from the street and getting ready to toss a handful of pebbles. "[14]

It must be assumed that top editors of the Citizen were pleased with Curtis' work -- after all, it was published. But her colleagues may not have always understood her. She remembered how many of the men on the staff referred to her simply as "Vassar," a term "used in a pejorative way because there was something snobbish...about being a rich girl from a rich suburb." [15] One must wonder what they thought about their shy co-worker who puffed on Newports, never swore, and frequently added little terms of endearment to names (co-worker David Schneiderman, for instance, was "Davey Dearheart," and co-worker Roger Wilkins became Rogey-poo") .[16] She could cut her subjects to the quick in her articles, but she avoided personal confrontation and arguments. [17]

After eleven years as a full-time reporter and section editor on the Citizen (which became the Citizen-Journal in 1960, her last full year there), Curtis began making inquiries about jobs on New York newspapers [18] . She wanted a news or feature writing job but she heard about an opening covering home furnishings on the New York Times' Food, Fashion, Furnishings and Family section. She sent the Times the only two home furnishings clips she ever wrote, which, she acknowledged later, were "godawful."[19]

During her first two years at the Times, Curtis was lucky to work for a women's editor who did not try to rein her in. Women's page editor Elizabeth Penrose Howkins, formerly an editor at Vogue and Glamour magazines, stressed graphics and lively writing because she considered fashion magazines her "competition." Further, she did not necessarily believe the pages were public relations outlets for New York retailers.[20] Under Howkins, Curtis was not limited to writing home furnishings stories, and ended up writing very few of them, concentrating more on fashion and trend stories. Still, she wanted to leave the women's pages and become a feature writer for the Times news/features department on the third floor. Curtis repeatedly requested the transfer during her first two years at the newspaper. In 1963, her transfer request was granted. But as she was getting ready to leave, by chance she had a discussion with Clifton Daniel, the Times managing editor. It was a talk that would change her life and her career.

Unlike many top Times news managers of the era, Daniel thought the key to getting more readers lie not in increased hard news coverage, but in coverage of "softer" subjects such as society and obituaries. He had admired Curtis' frank writing style and considered her one of the best writers on the newspaper's staff. He also thought the Times should beef up its rather drab, predictable society coverage:

> At the time, I kept going over to [society editor] Russell Edwards and telling him he ought to do something about society coverage. At the time, it was mostly wedding announcements and occasionally a charity party. . . . I told him society writing could be interesting and there were some interesting people in society -- lot of multi-millionaires, old families, new ones, various social strata. He said, "My staff can't write that kind of stuff. . . . " He had [on his staff] the timid women -- and they were almost all women. . . . It was essentially a record-keeping kind of journalism, but I thought you could dress it up with [subjects'] interesting behavior. [21]

Shortly before Curtis was to start as a feature writer, Daniel made her an offer -- give society writing a chance, on the condition that she could start on the feature desk if she did not like it:

> Charlotte had no desire to work in society. But I started romancing her as to what you can do in society. My point was, treat it like a sociological phenomenon in this town. It was full of interesting stories -- the wealthy, where they come from, where they got their money, how they got to be members of the board of the Metropolitan Opera.[22]

Because the society and women's sections were separate. Curtis would not work for Howkins and could, unofficially at least, report to Daniel, thus having free rein as to what stories she wanted to do and how she wanted to handle them. Soon, he expanded her beat to include the wealthy around the country. By that time, Curtis had apparently adopted Daniel's view that society writing was in large part "sociology" and also that it was a news beat like many other beats. Further, even wedding and engagement announcements did not necessarily have to sugarcoat the facts, she believed:

> Reporting a society story or a woman's news story, or anything, the techniques of reporting are the same regardless of what you do. . . . something has happened -- a wedding has happened, a charity ball has happened, a murder has happened. . . .You answer all the who, what, why, when and where and how and so on, but what you're doing is telling the world it happened. And if you can, you try and tell them what it means, if anything. I mean, the story I used to tell in those days is that the notion used to be that all brides are beautiful, and all brides are not beautiful! But it was as though all wedding stories were written, "And the beautiful bride wore, etc." Well, I'm sorry, that doesn't have anything to do with reality. [23]

Curtis covered society in this innovative way not to ridicule her subjects, but because she thought their lifestyles were "news." The often-trivial activities and petty concerns of the rich and famous had never been reported on before; if they said something silly or shallow, they simply had not been quoted. Curtis wanted to let readers in on the secrets that had previously never been recorded in the society sections of newspapers. [24]

Her stories, however, did not just roll off her typewriter. Curtis was a painstaking researcher who would study history, geography, family trees and any other topic that might influence her stories and interviews. [25] Time magazine once said that she read up on the history of her subjects as is she were going to take an exam.[26] Her husband, William Hunt, remembers that her method of writing, too, could be time consuming. She would write several paragraphs until she came to a natural halt, pull the paper out of the typewriter, revise those paragraphs with a pencil, put more paper in the typewriter, start over, and continue that process until the story was completed.[27]

Curtis' stories did catch on, based on the reaction of other media that printed stories about her and her irreverent treatment of the rich and famous. Both Time and Newsweek wrote articles about the "sociologist on the society beat," as the 1965 Time headline labeled her.[28] Daniel remembers that Times readers were amused as well as informed by Curtis' stories. Even her subjects -- who were often mocked in a subtle way -- enjoyed her stories and liked having their names in the newspaper, he recalled.[29] The 1964 Newsweek article stated that "society seems pleased having Miss Curtis along," and the article quoted a society matron that Curtis "doesn't rub people the wrong way." [30]

Daniel remembers that Curtis' style may have been too candid for at least one member of the Times establishment: New York Times matriarch Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, the mother of Times Publisher A.O. Sulzberger. Mrs. Sulzberger's father, Adolph Ochs, bought the Times in 1895, and she also had been the daughter, wife and mother-in-law of the newspaper's publishers. Thus, while she was never on the newspaper's payroll, she had considerable "unofficial" clout. Daniel and Harrison Salisbury remembered how Iphigene thought it was in bad taste for Curtis to write about society parties.[31] Curtis, Daniel said, "was a bit of a shock to the older generation of Times management," and Salisbury noted that early in Curtis' career at the newspaper, Sulzberger's three older sisters, also, felt uncomfortable with some of the Curtis' more biting stories, and felt that she was making fun of rich people. Daniel added that while Mrs. Sulzberger was sometimes "taken aback" by what Curtis wrote, to his knowledge she rarely if ever interfered directly in influencing her son, publisher Sulzberger, to limit or censor her.[32] Salisbury remembered that as Curtis became well-known and respected as a society writer, the Sulzberger family grew proud of her, but they were still skeptical of her irreverent writing style. "They all became good friends," Salisbury said. "But it was a bit edgy."[33]

Overall, however, Curtis became quite chummy with Times upper management. Having earned the respect of Daniel, she began to socialize with him and his wife, Margaret Truman Daniel, and was sometimes invited to the Connecticut country home of the Sulzberger family. In fact, Curtis was one of the few Times editorial employees who maintained a friendship with the publisher and his family, and it certainly helped her career at the newspaper. This friendship with the Sulzbergers in turn introduced her to other top Times officials, including Sydney Gruson, a vice president of the paper and an assistant to Sulzberger. Gruson remembers that Curtis used to periodically corner him in elevators and hallways to complain about what she felt was unfair treatment of a fellow employee. Curtis loved to act as an unofficial advocate for those whom she felt had been wrongly demoted or otherwise poorly treated, he said. "Wherever there was rebellion you would find her hand," he remembers. "She was a great stirrer-upper ....[She] would take in people who needed taking in." [34]

Bigger rewards came for Curtis in 1965. Upon the retirement of Howkins, she was named women's news and society editor, and the society and women's sections were merged. In addition, she continued as a society reporter, traveling around the country for stories. The day-to-day duties of the women's pages, such as page layout and story assignments, were often handled by Joan Whitman. As editor, however, Curtis had ultimate responsibility for the content of the pages and for policy decisions.

The renewed emphasis on society reporting -- and Curtis' frequent bylines -- made her well-known to Times readers. But it also annoyed some people on the Times. In his chronicle of the Times of the 1960s, Gay Talese noted that some news managers disagreed with Daniel and Curtis about the importance of women's-page and society stories:

> Though Daniel would prefer to be identified with several of the Times' recent changes for the better...he is more quickly credited with, or blamed for, the women's page. [Assistant Managing Editor Ted] Bernstein and other critics say that the women's pages get too much space, and they particularly oppose the publication of lengthy stories by the women's page editor, Charlotte Curtis, a five-foot, fast-stepping Vassar alum, describing the activities of the wastrels from Palm Beach to New York at a time when most of America is moving toward a more egalitarian society. Although Miss Curtis is rarely flattering to her subjects, many of them lack the wit to realize this -- but what is more important is

that Daniel likes to read it. [35]

Another frequent critic of Curtis' women's pages was Rosenthal, who rose through the ranks of the Times to become an assistant managing editor, managing editor, and executive editor. While managing editor Daniel gave Curtis virtual carte blanche as women's editor, assistant managing editor Rosenthal sometimes questioned her taste -- and he let Curtis know it. For example, in a story about the marriage of an Austrian princess on the women's pages in 1969, the reporter (who did not receive a byline) wrote, "The bridegroom wore a matching Salzburg suit complete with pink silk tie and a dainty rose arrangement in the buttonhole. It is well known that he used to spend up to $100,000 a month playing host to young male friends at Bluhnbach -- usually seven at a time because, he said, he believed in groups of eight."[36] The apparent allusion to the groom's homosexuality angered Rosenthal, who sent the following memo to Curtis and the women's news department:

> The attempt to make our stories interesting must not violate our own standards of taste and tenor and I think we all agree on that. . . . But in the story of the marriage of Princess Von Auersperg to the Krupp heir, we did violate these standards. That was in the reference to the groom's homosexual proclivities. I think such material really has no place in the story at all. Please try to make sure we do not get caught in this kind of situation again. [37]

Although he would periodically send Curtis critical memos about the content of her pages, Rosenthal now says that he believes Curtis was a pioneer at the Times and that he always respected her ability. [38] He believes that her success was due to three elements: talent, the willingness to work hard, and the fact that she opened up a new field of journalism:

> She was talented. It's not that others were not...But she was extremely talented and she really opened up a new field. Very few people do that or get a chance to do that. . . .I'm sure she had the determination, but so did a lot of other people. But it was the combination of the talent and the ability

> to expend it -- sometimes [people] are talented but they cannot gather it together. She did. No one at the Times had covered so-called society in quite that candidly simple and devastating way.[39]

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Periodically, Curtis' personal views conflicted with what she felt was her professional responsibility to report on the news as she viewed it. However sympathetic she was to her subjects, she never let it get in the way of a good story. One of the most famous stories illustrates how she was not willing to compromise her strict view of "news."[40] This story focused on a 1970 gathering by composer Leonard Bernstein for the radical Black Panthers.[41] The article and Curtis' views about it illustrated how her personal views conflicted with her professional standards and responsibilities, and it shows how she was not willing to compromise her strict principles about what was "news."

In the Bernstein story, Curtis painted a picture of the wealthy, socially prominent composer in a black turtleneck sweater mimicking the dress of the Panthers and agreeing with Panther Field Marshall Donald Cox's view that the Panthers must "take the means of production and put them in the hands of the people." "I dig absolutely," she quoted Bernstein, whose wide-eyed, idealized view of the radical group came off clearly, while the Panthers, as quoted by Curtis, looked ill-informed and full of false bravado. In short, she made both groups look silly. The story, which was distributed across the country on Times news service wires, spawned an editorial in the Times critical of Bernstein's naiveté in believing a soiree in a lavish penthouse apartment could solve the nation's ills.[42] Bernstein and other New York activists complained that the Times' story and editorial trivialized their efforts to raise money for the group. [43]

In fact, Curtis had nothing but sympathy for the Black Panthers and considered them a well-intentioned group in need of help. She wrote her mother a letter soon after the story appeared, complaining that the Times printed stories critical about the Black Panthers but never mentioned the positive activities in which they took part, such as providing free breakfasts to the poor. [44] Furthermore, she and co-worker Joan Whitman donated office equipment to the group so it could publicize its accomplishments.[45]

Clearly, Curtis' personal views here conflicted with her unwavering view of what made news. The gathering at the Bernsteins, with its posturing by both sides, was news by her definition, and she wrote about it. It was this strong journalistic moral sense that may have prompted former reporter and assistant managing editor Harrison Salisbury to label her "a strict moralist," one who never compromised her ethics.[46] Hunt, said that this sense of ethics was rigid: "If something violated her principles, that was it. It didn't matter how expensive it was in terms of convenience or even friendships." [48] Syndicated gossip columnist Liz Smith, who sometimes covered the same events as Curtis, remembered that not even Curtis' strong loyalty to the Times could override her allegiance to news. For instance, the Times would not print anything that news managers deemed "gossip." Sometimes when Curtis learned of tidbits that she thought would not get past Times editors, she told Smith, who would print them in the New York Daily News. Smith was amused that Curtis would rather see these news items in a rival paper than not have them in printed at all. [47]

Curtis' single-mindedness about what was news did not necessarily extend to the growing women's movement of the late 1960s. It was clear that the women's page editor of one of the biggest newspapers in the country could not avoid taking part in a battle of sorts involving women that was brewing in American society. But Curtis was reluctant to join the fight.

When Curtis' pages dealt with feminism, they usually did so in an historical context, or in the coverage of specific events. For instance, on August 27, 1970, the Times printed several stories about women's rights, brought on by a celebration in New York of the fiftieth anniversary of women's suffrage. Coverage included front-page play of a March for Equality in Manhattan, a profile of feminist author Kate Millett, an editorial and, in the women's section, a lengthy story profiling fifty women and their views about women's equality. [48] Several days before, a story that took up nearly three-fourths of a newspaper page in the women's section outlined in detail the struggle by the nation's early feminists for rights. Curtis was apparently impressed by the early suffragists.[49] In a 1971 memo to the managing editor outlining possible in-depth story ideas for the newspaper, she mentioned feminism, couching it in historical terms. She called it "an outgrowth of the old feminism with the daughters and granddaughters of the Suffragettes arguing over goal priorities and how to achieve them and at the same time engaging themselves in everything from street theater and radical rhetoric to serious study."[50]

While she appreciated the historical dimension of 1960s and 1970s feminism, Curtis apparently was ambivalent about other aspects of it. Memos found in her personal papers indicate that in the late 1960s and at least through part of the 1970s, Times editors spent considerable time grappling with whether to make the designation "Ms." -- a parallel to "Mr." -- part of the newspaper's editorial style. In a letter to her mother in 1972, Curtis indicated she opposed substituting "Mrs." or "Miss" with "Ms.":

> This afternoon, the managing editor is going to have a meeting to take up the matter of Ms., pronounced miz, the new title for ladies. The liberated ones want to be called Ms. I don't. I like being Miss. When we did a story about Betty Friedan, the feminist, we called her Ms. and her mother, who appeared in the same story, Mrs., because she doesn't like to be a Ms. either. It's going to be like blacks. In the transition days of black liberation, there were blacks, Negroes and colored people. There still are. It will probably be the same with women. Some will aggressively want to be Ms. Some will equally aggressively insist on Miss or Mrs. Anything that's pronounced miz sounds like poor

blacks in the South, and that's very distasteful to me.[51]

In an interview in Cosmopolitan in 1975, Curtis implied that she considered herself a "feminist." The writer related Curtis' story of a woman at a conference who came up to her and said, disdainfully, "You're not one of those feminists are you?", to which Curtis replied, "Of course I am, and so are you, whether you know it or not."[52] Although this suggests Curtis' recognition that all women, by virtue of their gender, were affected by the issues of feminism, her tone when discussing "feminists" on other occasions is far from supportive. She wrote her husband in 1969 l about what New York feminists thought of her women's pages. The passage was complete with parenthetical explanations: "And the Women's Liberation, which is to say the very feminist (I'm still not sure that's right) younger generation, are up in arms over my women's pages. They're calling us Aunt Tabbies, which apparently is women's lip (I didn't misspell that) for Uncle Tom."[53]

Whitman, who worked as Curtis' deputy for nine years, believes feminism was not an issue that took up much of Curtis' time or thoughts. "She [Curtis] was not involved in the women's movement," Whitman said. "It just was not something that interested her."[54]

Perhaps the mixed signals Curtis gave about the women's movement were due in part to her personal history. She said she was never discriminated against in the workplace and that it was hard work and a passion for her jobs that led to promotions. She also suggested that a woman had to be like a man to succeed. She was asked if she ever used her "feminine charms" to get a story. "'Honey,' she told the reporter, 'I don't have any, damn it.'"[55]

Curtis' own experience in the workplace, her friendships with top Times managers and her strict moral views about right and wrong, may explain why she never participated in the sex discrimination suit filed in 1974 by seven women on the newspaper. As Kay Mills and Nan Robertson discuss in their books, the suit was spawned after arts reporter

Grace Glueck wrote a letter to publisher Sulzberger in 1970 asking him why only men at risen to top editorial positions at the Times. Sulzberger, who seemed taken aback by the observation, wrote Glueck to say he would consult "key management executives about the issue." [56] The letter prompted other women to look at payroll and personnel records and they found that women eared an average of $59 a week less than men with less seniority.[57] Even key women on the newspaper -- such as economics reporter Eileen Shanahan and health writer Jane Brody -- made less than their male counterparts. Further, in 1970 and 1971, only 7 percent of the reporters hired were women. [58] Many women saw irony in the situation: the Times, which often took a liberal editorial stance, had over the yeas been a strong proponent of civil rights and frequently editorialized in favor of rights for minorities.

After four years of discussion and negotiation, seven women -- including four editorial employees -- filed a class action suit under the name of Betsy (Wade) Boylan, who was then a copy editor. Members of the group, who called themselves the "women's caucus," knew they were taking a chance. They felt they were putting their jobs on the line by placing themselves in an adversarial position with their employers.

The suit, which grew to represent all 550 female employees, alleged that women at the newspaper were discriminated against in job assignment and pay. Absent from the plaintiff list were the two most visible women on the Times: Curtis and Pulitzer Prize-winning architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable. Robertson noted in her book that caucus members were angry and disappointed in the two women [59] Curtis, however, seemed to bear the brunt of the rage. As Robertson pointed out, Huxtable and Curtis were similar in some ways: both were opinionated, competitive in temperament, and tiny and well-coiffed in appearance. But Huxtable, who joined the Times at age 42, was not "married" to the newspaper, as Curtis was. While Huxtable worked hard and was successful, she considered herself an outsider to the politics and posturing of the Times and never aimed at a top editorship.[60] That wasn't the case with Curtis, whose prim demeanor and self-deprecating manner were smoke screens for a steely determination, ambition and toughness.

The women's caucus considered Huxtable an "outsider," Robertson said. But they did not forgive Curtis for her lack of participation in the lawsuit. [61] One of the leaders of the lawsuit is still bitter about Curtis' lack of participation and doubtful about her concern for the plaintiffs. In an oral history of women in the media, Betsy (Wade) Boylan, the chief plaintiff in the suit, pulled no punches as she described Curtis as a "quisling," which she defined as meaning a "sell-out," "a rotten bastard" and "[one who] usually gets shot." Wade also decried the fact that Curtis never -- even anonymously -- donated money to the group filing the suit.[62]

Curtis' husband and her friends maintain that she was unable to join the suit because, as women's page and later op-ed editor, she was officially "management," and, as Daniel pointed out, it would be like filing a lawsuit against herself, since the women were suing the newspaper's management. [63] Hunt insists that Curtis was sympathetic to the women's cause, although she felt she could not put her name to a lawsuit. Further, he said she supported labor unions and was an officer of the reporters' union, The Newspaper Guild, when she worked in Columbus. "She worked behind the scenes [in the lawsuit against the Times]," he said. [64]

To feminist author Steinem, however, the reasons for Curtis' lack of active participation in the lawsuit were more complex. Steinem, who periodically saw Curtis at events and benefits, felt Curtis may have aligned herself with the male management on the Times because she grew up thinking that was the way to get ahead. "I'm not sure she liked women very much," she said. "I think she grew up in an era in which the thing to be was the only woman in a group of men." Steinem believes insecurity led Curtis to vocally support the civil rights movement throughout much of her life, but to remain silent about women's rights. "She didn't like herself enough to unite [with other women] on issues of gender," Steinem said.[65] She has written in essays that sometimes women, who were raised in a male-dominated society, support only "masculine" rebellions such as civil rights or anti-war efforts because they believe their male focus makes those rebellions legitimate. Further, Steinem has written that some women do not consider themselves part of the "oppressed" minority which they believe feminism represents.[66]

While Curtis probably did sympathize with the plaintiffs, it is likely her personal friendships and what she felt was a professional obligation to some top Times news managers kept her from joining the suit. Hunt mentioned that Curtis felt very strictly about "boundaries" -- in this case the line between employees and news managers.[67] It is likely, however, that the friendship and obligation she felt toward those who promoted her was stronger than the obligation she felt toward other women on the newspaper. Robertson pointed out that long after the suit was settled, Curtis told former Times columnist that she had been naive in believing women can impose change from within the organization and indicated that she felt betrayed by the Times power structure. As Robertson wrote:

> The Caucus saw Curtis as a hypocritical adversary, but she had a different view of herself. For years she had though she was boring from within influencing the publisher about the cause of women in the working world. She was an intimate of Punch [A.O.] Sulzberger and his wife. She had fought for her protegees on the family/style page. She had assigned and prominently displayed stories about women's politics. She considered herself a feminist, while caring passionately about the paper. Her rationale for not joining the Women's Caucus had always been that she wanted to remain neutral. Charlotte now told [colleague and friend Marylin Bender] that she questioned the strength of Punch's commitment to "do the right thing."[68]

The case was settled out of court in 1978, although the newspaper was never found guilty of sex discrimination. Times management agreed to a stepped-up affirmative action program, and pledged to place women in one of every eight top corporate jobs by the end of 1982. In addition, it provided $233,500 in back pay for the 550 women.[69]

Twenty years later, Sulzberger did not remember if he had conversations with Curtis about the issue, but "she must have worked behind the scenes, knowing Charlotte," he said recently. The thought of the lawsuit apparently still saddens Sulzberger, who called it a "no-win situation" for everyone involved:

> It was one of those lawsuits that a company can never win. And it was one of those that in some respects you didn't even want to defend yourself.... To stand up and say in court a whole lot of things you'd have to have said... To say their case wasn't true, an then have to come back to work the next day -- it was a no winner from the very beginning, so we settled. It was the right thing to do. There was merit on their side. There was merit on ours. But it didn't kill us."[70]

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By the time the women's lawsuit was settled in 1978, Curtis had been working for four years as op-ed editor of the Times. The appointment was a promotion that brought with it the prestige of becoming an associate editor of the Times and she became the first woman to have her name appear on the masthead of the newspaper. Curtis was the hand-picked favorite of former op-ed editor Salisbury who said she was his first choice for the job because of her "gutsy writing style," "quick eye" and unconventional news judgment.[71]

The early 1970s were years of big changes, both good and bad, for Curtis. In 1972, at the age of 43, she married Hunt, a man she had been dating for about five years. Chief of neurological surgery at Ohio State University Hospital, he lived in Columbus. Although Curtis frequently visited her hometown even before she met Hunt, they began a commuter marriage, with Curtis returning to Columbus every other weekend.

Two years after the marriage, Curtis was diagnosed with breast cancer and underwent a radical mastectomy. Curtis lived under a death threat: doctors said she had only a 5 percent chance of living five years after the operation. Curtis never told her close friends or colleagues about this life-span diagnosis, and only those to whom she was close knew about the cancer. Hunt said she kept quiet about her poor health because she feared it might keep the Times from further promoting her. Curtis kept her hectic schedule as op-ed editor.[72] She compiled many of her society columns of the 1960s into a book titled The Rich and Other Atrocities. [73]

As Curtis kept busy, 1979 -- the five-year mark -- came and went with no recurrence of the cancer. In 1982, after a shake-up at the Times that involved the reshuffling of many editorial employees, Curtis lost her op-ed page position and was given a twice-weekly column to write. While she expressed great enthusiasm that she would be writing again regularly in a free-wheeling manner with few restrictions, Whitman, Salisbury and others said they were disappointed in the column. First, it was placed at different locations in the back of the news section of the newspaper and not in the prestigious op-ed page. Second, they say it lacked the enthusiasm and originality that her writing once had. [74] Hunt said he learned much later that an underactive thyroid, a condition Curtis may have had as a young adult, was to blame for her declining energy level. The simple drug treatment prescribed for this hypothyroidism may have reactivated the cancer.[75]

By early 1986, Curtis became too ill to work and returned to Columbus for treatment. Even at this time, her close friends were unaware of her serious medical condition. She told friends she would return to work when she recuperated. Admitting to a serious illness would be a sign of weakness, and Curtis avoided showing any kind of weakness.[76]

Curtis' last year in Columbus, from mid-1986 until her death on April 16, 1987, was a painful one. Although at times Curtis did not have the strength to get out of bed, she spent hours researching her illness and filling notebooks with facts, figures, and thoughts in general. And she took great time and effort to arrange her own memorial service, a task she tackled "as though she was planning a Christmas party," her husband said later. Curtis was a meticulous party planner who painstakingly arranged the proper music, flowers, table settings and seating arrangements.[77] She sent detailed instructions about how the service should be conducted to one of her close friends, Richard Clurman, and he carried them out to the letter.[78] At the memorial service, he noted with amusement the letter Curtis sent him shortly before she died, telling the mourners to celebrate the occasion. According to the transcript from the service, Clurman read the contents of the letter, which was cheery: "With any luck she will die with her eyebrows and eyelashes properly painted, her hair combed and a smile on her face," Curtis wrote Clurman. "She had a glorious life, loved work and was paid to do what she would have done for free. So please celebrate!!"[79]

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Until the end, Curtis was upbeat and optimistic about her life and her career, noting that she was lucky to work at a job she enjoyed. Her true feelings about her last few years at the Times will remain a mystery. Did Curtis believe her removal from the op-ed page and subsequent assignment as a general-interest columnist was a demotion? The restrictions put on the column and its placement outside the op-ed page robbed it of much the prestige a Times column holds. Yet Hunt maintains that Curtis was very glad to write again, and that she did not view her last assignment as a demotion.[80]

And, while Curtis was for many years one of the most visible and prominent women on the Times, she may have paid a price for her rise: some women there still believe she betrayed them by sympathizing with the newspaper's management rather than joining the women's sex discrimination suit. Curtis' personal friendships with the male power structure at the Times helped pave the way for her rise there, and she believed she could provide more help to the women by using her influence with top Times managers than by joining the lawsuit. It was a decision

Robertson says Curtis later regretted, and one that is seen by many even today as selling out to the power structure.[81] While Robertson is not bitter about Curtis' role in the event, she says in her book that she believes Curtis was forgotten by the Times management near the end of her career. "Her final years at The New York Times were described by some of those who knew her well as sad and isolated. In 1974, she had been elevated to the post of editor of the Op-Ed page, but the higher she went in rank, the less clout she seemed to wield. More than one member of the editorial thought she was over her head as op-ed editor, dealing with topics and people far weightier than she was used to covering. By the time she got her own weekly column at her request and went back to writing, the Curtis zing and bite had vanished..."[82] Still, others say her years on the op-ed page were successful, and that while her news judgment and editorial style varied from Salisbury's, it was respected.[83]

It appears that Curtis was sincere in her desire to help the cause of the women, and she was in the awkward position of choosing to side with the women with whom she sympathized, or with the male managers who boosted her career. Being forced to make this choice may have been the price she paid as one of the first women in the Times' top power structure. She may have felt her ultimate decision would allow her to have it both ways: to remain loyal to her employers, yet to work from within to aid the plaintiffs in the case. It didn't work that way, as she learned later.

Her true thoughts on the issue, and on her career overall, may have been revealed in a book Curtis planned to write about the Times of the 1970s and 1980s. Notes for this book were found among her personal papers, and it was a project she had planned for about a decade, her husband said.[84] She even had a name for the book, he said: The Times That Try Men's Souls. But it was never to be.

Curtis' papers are stored at the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA, hereafter SL. They have not yet been catalogued and are closed to the public. The author was given access to them by Curtis' husband before they were sent to that library. The author was also given access to the transcript of Curtis' memorial service, and to the oral history interview conducted by the New York Times. Transcripts to the memorial service and the oral history are housed at the Times. The author would like to thank the Freedom Forum for a grant which enabled her to conduct interviews for this paper.

[1] Nan Robertson, The Girls in the Balcony (New York: Random House, 1992), 213-216.

[2] Robertson, 214.

[3] Many people on and off the Times credit Curtis with this. In her obituary, "Charotte Curtis, a Columnist for the Times is Dead at 58," 17 April 1987, B6, Robert McFadden mentions this. In addition, former Times news managers A.M. Rosenthal and Clifton Daniel said this in interviews with the author on 9 November 1995, and 21 June 1995, respectively. In addition, several articles in news magazines noted that under Curtis, women's news expanded to include nws of interest to men, and that society reporting wet beyond just club news and into the realm of sociology. See "Pages for Women," Time, 19 May 1967, 55; "Upper Crust," Newsweek, 28 September 1964, 62; and "Sociologist on the Society Beat," 19 February 1965, 51.

[4] Sulzberger, personal interview, New York City, 11 November 1995; Rosenthal, telephone interview; and Curtis' husband, William Hunt, personal interview, Columbus, Ohio, 30 October 1995.

[5] Gloria Steinem, telephone, 18 July 1995.

[6] Sydney Gruson, personal interview, 8 August 1995, New York City, said Curtis frequently complained to him that she felt some employees were being treated unfairly. Nan Robertson, in The Girls in the Balcony, (New York: Random House, 1992), discusses at length Curtis' role in the sex discrimination lawsuit against the Times, 132-228.

[7] For more on Curtis' life, see Marilyn Greenwald, "'All Brides are Not Beautiful:' The Influence of Charlotte Curtis on Women's News Coverage at the New York Times," unpublished paper delivered at the annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, August 12, 1990, Minneapolis, MN.

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[8] Ellen Bilgore, "Charlotte Curtis: She Did It Her Way," Harper's Bazaar, March 1981, 72

9 Personal interview by the author with William Hunt in Columbus, Ohio, October 30, 1995..

[10] Bilgore, "Charlotte Curtis: She Did It Her Way," 72.

[11] Curtis discussed her career at length in an oral history project the New York Times conducted. She was interviewed on 21 June 1983 at the Times offices in New York.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Personal interview by the author with Mary McGarey, Columbus, Ohio, 20 October 1995.

[14] Julie Baumgold, "Charlotte, Star Reporter," New York, 6 October 1969, 41.

[15] Charlotte Curtis, oral history.

[17] Wilkins and Schneiderman both mentioned these pet names at the memorial service held for Curtis in New York City on May 20, 1987, the transcript of that service shows.

[17] Julie Baumgold, New York.

[18] Copies of some of these inquiries were found among her papers.

[19] Curtis discussed her career at length in an oral history project the New York Times conducted. She was interviewed on 21 July 1983 at the Times offices in New York. The transcript of the interview is stored at the Times.

[20] Marylin Bender, personal interview, New York City, 9 October 1989.

[22] Daniel interview.

[23] Curtis, oral history.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Many of Curtis' friends and co-workers explained that this was why she wrote the stories she did. Daniel, Hunt,interviews, and David Schneiderman, personal interview, New York City, 22 June 1995; and A.O. Sulzberger, personal interview, New York City, 11 November 1995.

[26] Hunt interview.

[26] Time, "Sociologist on the Society Beat."

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[27] Hunt interview.

[28] Time, "Sociologist on the Society Beat," and "Upper Crust," Newsweek, 18 September 1964,62-63.

[29] Daniel interview.

[30]Newsweek, "Upper Crust," 62.

[31] Daniel interview and personal interview by the author with Harrison Salisbury, New York City, 12 December 1989.

[32] Daniel interview.

[33] Salisbury interview.

[34] Personal interview by the author with Sydney Gruson, New York City, 8 August 1995.

[35] Gay Talese, The Kingdom and the Power (Cleveland: The World Press Co., 1969), 468.

36 "Princess Auersperg is Wed," New York Times, 15 February 1969, 54.

[37] Memorandum, A.M. Rosenthal to Charlotte Curtis, 17 February 1969, SL.

[38] Many memos from Rosenthal complaining about the contents of some women's page stories were among the papers at the Schlesinger Library. Rosenthal, in an interview with the author, said he thought she was a pioneer at the Times.

[39] Rosenthal interview.

[40] See Curtis, "Black Panther Philosophy is Debated at the Bernsteins," New York Times, 15 January 1970, 50.

[41] The Black Panther organization grew out of the Black Power movement of the 1960s. Although leaders Bobby Seale and Huey Newton said the group was formed to perform community service, it later attracted violence and was involved in clashes with police.

[42] The editorial was headlined, "False Notes on the Black Panthers," and appeared in the Times on 16 January 1970 on page 46.

[43] The episode is recounted in Tom Wolfe's, Radical Chic and Mau-Mauing the Flak Catchers (New York: Farr, Strauss & Giroux, 1970).

[44] Letter, Charlotte Curtis to Lucile Atcherson Curtis, 24 January 1970. SL.

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[45] Joan Whitman, telephone, 20 June 1995.

[46] Salisbury interview.

[47] Liz Smith, personal interview, New York City, 13 December 1989.

[48] Judy Klemesrud, "The Issue of Equality: Some Women in the Public Eye Speak," New York Times, 17 August 1970, 39.

[49] Marylin Bender, "Liberation Yesterday: The Roots of the Feminist Movement," New York Times, 21 August 1979, 29.

[50] Memorandum, Charlotte Curtis to A.M. Rosenthal, 14 January 1971, SL.

[51] Letter, Charlotte Curtis to Lucile Atcherson Curtis, 28 January 1972, SL.

[52] Jane Howard, "Charlotte Curtis: First Lady of the New York Times," Cosmopolitan, January 1975, 160.

[53] Letter, Charlotte Curtis to William Hunt, 24 November 1969. SL

[54] Whitman interview.

[55] "We Can Do Anything a Man Can Do," Editor & Publisher.

[56] See Robertson's, The Girls in the Balcony, 160-178, and Kay Mills' A Place in the News (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) 157-166.

[57] Mills, 147.

[58] Robertson, 164.

[59] Robertson, 147.

[60] Robertson, 124-126.

[61] Robertson interview.

[62] Betsy Wade, oral history interview conducted by Mary Marshall Clark, Washington Press Club Foundation, October 1994, 141, 195, 240. This transcript is available at the Washington Press Club Foundation, Washington, D.C., and at several university libraries, including the Ohio State University Journalism Library.

[63] Hunt, Sulzberger, Daniel and Whitman interviews.

[64] Hunt interview.

[65] Steinem interview.

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[66] See Steinem's, Moving Beyond Words, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 179-181.

[67] Hunt interview.

[68] Robertson, The Girls in the Balcony, 187.

[69] Mills, 164.

[70] Sulzberger interview.

[71] Salisbury interview.

[72] Hunt interview.

[73] Charlotte Curtis, The Rich and Other Atrocities (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

[74] Whitman, Bender and Salisbury said this during interviews with the author.

[75] Hunt interview.

[76] Schneiderman interview.

[77] Hunt interview.

[78] Richard Clurman, transcript, memorial service.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Hunt interview.

[81] Robertson interview.

[82] Robertson, The Girls in the Balcony, 216.

[83] Schneiderman, Sulzberger interviews.

[84] Hunt interview.

A Different Story:

How the Press Covered Baseball's First Integrated Spring Training

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ABSTRACT

Baseball became integrated during the spring training of 1946 in Daytona Beach, Florida, deep in the Jim Crow South. Through a deeper understanding of the media coverage of Jackie Robinson's first spring training, we can understand the problems facing a society struggling with the demands of integration and the media's role in that drama. The nation's black weeklies realized the significance of the integration of baseball far better than the mainstream press. In addition, the black press covered the story with more emotion and more personal details about Robinson.

A Different Story:

How the Press Covered Baseball's First Integrated Spring Training

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A half-century has passed since Jackie Robinson became the first black in the 20th century to play with whites in organized professional baseball.[1] Baseball became integrated during the spring training of 1946 in Daytona Beach, Florida, deep in the Jim Crow South, where the inequalities and prejudices of a racist, segregated society came together with the inequalities and prejudices of baseball. It was a different story for the black and white press in America. For the black press, the Robinson story transcended sports and touched on racial issues neglected by both the mainstream press and the society at large. The mainstream press, however, covered the story as little more than a curiosity, rarely giving it the social or cultural context it deserved.

Several scholars and writers, including Jules Tygiel, David Wiggins, William Weaver, Donald Deardorff, and James Reisler have concluded that black sportswriters played an important part in integrating baseball.[2] According to Deardorff, the black press spread the segregation issue through its own columns and articles but also by appealing to sympathetic white sportswriters.[3] Tygiel noted the irony of black sportswriters campaigning to integrate baseball: Jim Crow limited not just athletes but the reporters who covered them.[4]

Black sportswriters such as Wendell Smith of The Pittsburgh Courier, Sam Lacy of the Afro-American newspapers, Joe Bostic of The People's Voice, and Fay Young of the Chicago Defender, actively campaigned for the integration of baseball by appealing to sympathetic whites, pressuring owners of baseball teams, and sometimes organizing public protests to voice their dissatisfaction with baseball's "unwritten law" prohibiting blacks.[5] Smith, of the Courier, the most widely circulated black newspaper of its time, has been most often identified with trying to integrate baseball. According to Wiggins, it was Smith "who most doggedly fought for the inclusion of blacks in organized baseball."[6] Robinson said he would always be indebted to Smith, who recommended him to Branch Rickey, the president of the Brooklyn Dodgers, who signed him to a contract in 1945, ending decades of segregation in baseball.[7]

In his first autobiography, written with Smith in 1948, Robinson noted that the nation's sportswriters were responsible for the entry of blacks into organized baseball.[8] He would change his mind in a subsequent book by saying that the press "frequently stirred up trouble by baiting me or jumping into any situation I was involved in without completely checking the facts."[9] Perhaps he felt more comfortable speaking his mind after his retirement from baseball than he did at the beginning of his career.

Whatever the case, the evidence would support neither position entirely. Most white sportswriters ignored the issues of segregation and integration. However, a few sportswriters such as Jimmy Powers of the New York Daily News, Hugh Bradley of the Philadelphia Examiner and Dave Egan of the Boston Daily Record, openly questioned the merits of segregation during the 1930s and early 1940s.[10] But the overwhelming majority, however, like the public they wrote for, either ignored the issue completely or, as The Sporting News did in 1942, simply said that no good would come from raising the race issue.[11]

This article explores press treatment of an experience that has thus far been neglected by scholars, baseball's first integrated spring training. Through a deeper understanding of the media coverage of Robinson's first spring training, we can understand the problems facing a society struggling with the demands of integration and the media's role in the drama. A study of the press coverage in the spring of 1946 underscores the conclusions of the 1947 Hutchins Report, which criticized the media for failing to provide information and interpretation that would help its readers understand the day's events.[12]

This article contributes to the literature on the press and the integration of baseball. It also contributes to the literature on the press coverage of Robinson, the first black ballplayer in organized baseball during the 20th century. In a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the signing of Robinson in 1945, Kelley said that black newspapers reported the news as historically significant, while metropolitan newspapers treated it as relatively unimportant.[13] Washburn found that three New York City metropolitan newspapers provided relatively fair coverage of Robinson during his first season in the major leagues in 1947, though there were some instances of subtle bias.[14] He wrote that additional studies of sportswriting and minorities would show that sportswriters, "because of their love of athletic ability and accomplishments, have led the way on most newspapers in bringing about objective coverage of blacks."[15]

This analysis focuses on the period from March 1, 1946, when Robinson was scheduled to arrive in Daytona Beach for his tryout with Montreal and continued for six weeks until April 14, when Montreal left Florida to begin its regular season schedule. About 30 newspapers were selected for the sample based on several criteria. The sample included the most widely circulated black weeklies in the country to understand how the story played in the black press; New York City metropolitan dailies, which had sportswriters in Daytona Beach to cover the Brooklyn Dodgers' spring training; Florida dailies to see how the story was reported throughout the state; two English-language dailies in Montreal, where Robinson would play that summer; The Sporting News, the most prominent sports weekly at the time; and a number of other dailies to get a sense of wire service coverage of the story.[16]

SEGREGATION CAME SLOWLY

Wendell Smith had campaigned for the integration of baseball since 1937.[17] Smith and Sam Lacy worked within the existing system, enlisting the assistance of sympathetic white sportswriters and baseball executives.[18] Their strategy differed from that of their colleague, Joe Bostic of The People's Voice, of New York City, who openly challenged segregation in his columns, led delegations to the offices of major league teams, and showed up at the Brooklyn spring training in Bear Mountain, New York, in 1945, demanding that three black players be given tryouts.[19] Lacy was critical of what he called grandstanding and thought it obstructed with more subtle efforts to integrate the game.[20]

Both methods proved more frustrating than fruitful. The Pittsburgh Pirates made overtures toward signing players on the Pittsburgh Crawfords of the Negro Leagues in the 1930s but then backed off. When Bill Veeck, Jr. told baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis he wanted to buy the Philadelphia Phillies and sign black players, the commissioner, an ardent segregationist, blocked the sale.[21] When a Boston city commissioner and Dave Egan of the Boston Record pressured the Red Sox to give a tryout to Robinson and Sam Jethroe, the team did so reluctantly but never contacted the ballplayers again.[22] The reception given to Bostic at Bear Mountain only further discouraged the integrationists.

On August 29, 1945, however, Rickey quietly signed Robinson to a minor league contract with Montreal. Smith, who had recommended Robinson to Rickey, knew about the contract but kept the news out of the newspaper until Rickey felt the time was right for the announcement. The Mayor's Committee on Anti-Discrimination in New York City, which had been studying the integration of baseball, had become mired in politics. If Rickey waited any longer to make his announcement, he feared that his intentions would suffer the same fate. His ability to work behind the scenes, his sense of timing, his ability to manage the press, and his willingness to challenge segregation on his own terms would ultimately further his cause as much as anything that happened on the field that spring.

A white-owned newspaper in Daytona Beach, Florida, also knew about the signing of Robinson and also kept the news quiet. On

August 29, Rickey selected Daytona Beach as the spring training site for the Brooklyn organization.[23] He recognized that Daytona Beach would be a relatively friendly climate for his racial experiment. Blacks in Daytona Beach had achieved a measure of power and advantages largely unknown in other parts of Florida.[24] It was the home of the prominent civil rights advocate Mary McLeod Bethune, the founder of the black college in the city and an adviser to Eleanor Roosevelt.[25] But perhaps most importantly, Daytona Beach city manager James Titus and Mayor William Perry had guaranteed Rickey that Robinson would be allowed to play.[26] Daytona Beach, for its part, saw that tourism promised economic opportunity and a spring training site would draw tourists.

Montreal announced the signing of Robinson on October 23. The differences in the coverage between black and white newspapers is striking. The Sporting News, for example, downplayed the story's historical significance and said the news received more attention than it was worth. The editorial also doubted if Robinson was good enough to play in the major leagues.[27] Another article included reactions to the signing from baseball officials, team executives, and sportswriters. The president of the Texas League, a minor league, said he was positive that blacks would never play organized ball in the South, "as long as the Jim Crow laws are in force."[28]

White sportswriters reacted generally favorably on the record. Red Smith of the New York Herald-Tribune wrote that Robinson could win over his critics with determination and talent, wrote that: "There is more democracy in the locker room than on the street."[29]

Montreal newspapers also were clearly supportive. The Star said no sports story had ever caught the sports public there "with such intense interest and speculation."[30] Le Canada called Rickey and Robinson "pioneers in fair play in baseball," but said they would not be appreciated in American cities, "for feeling against Negroes is so acute."[31]

It was left to the black press to put the story in perspective. This was a role well-known to the black press, which had spent the years of World War II pointing out the hypocrisy of the fight to free the world from totalitarianism, while the nation itself suffered the injustice of segregation.[32]

Black sportswriters saw the signing of Robinson as an important national story. Ludlow Werner of the New York Age said Robinson would be haunted by the expectations of his race. To millions of blacks, "he would symbolize not only their prowess in baseball, but their ability to rise to an opportunity."[33] Wendell Smith, meanwhile, wrote that the signing of Robinson was "the most American and democratic step baseball has made in 25 years."[34] Eddie Burdridge of the California Eagle wrote that Robinson was the "best all-around athlete ever developed in Southern California if not the nation," a contrast to the Los Angeles Times, which classified Robinson as the best all-around prospect "of his race."[35]

In the next day's Brooklyn Eagle, columnist Tommy Holmes wrote that Robinson's first big challenge would come in Daytona Beach during spring training: "Anyone who has ever traveled that far

South can't help but wonder just how things can be arranged. Fundamental things such as where he will sleep and where he will eat. Not to mention what traveling accommodations they'll let him have in deepest Dixie."[36]

Rickey was well aware of this. In a lengthy interview in The Pittsburgh Courier, he said he did not expect Daytona Beach to change its segregation laws. "I can't go to the Florida Legislature and say: 'Look here, now, you've got to change your laws because Montreal has a colored player on its team.'"[37] Rickey left little to chance. He sent a special assistant to Daytona Beach to work with city officials and find accommodations for the ballplayer.[38] He also signed another black prospect, Johnny Wright, so that Robinson would not be alone. Finally, he hired Wendell Smith and Billy Rowe, a photographer with the Courier, to provide companionship for Robinson and Wright.[39]

Smith and Rowe did not think there was anything wrong with this conflict of interest. They saw themselves as a counter to the biased coverage in the mainstream press, which wanted Robinson to fail, the journalists thought. In their eyes, they were doing the right thing and fighting the right fight.[40] The Courier also published a first-person story with Robinson. By contrast there was little or nothing from Robinson in the mainstream press. White sportswriters would make little effort to interview Robinson during the spring, relying instead for their information from Rickey, team officials, or by talking to black sportswriters.

When the signing was announced, the Daytona Beach newspapers added an editor's note to the wire story to remind readers that the Royals would be training with the Dodgers in the spring.[41] It also published a column by Bill Corum of the New York Journal-American, a part-time Daytona Beach resident, who had helped convince Rickey to bring his team to Daytona Beach. Integration of baseball was inevitable, he wrote and fans should accept it with common sense. "I would be deeply ashamed to think that in sports--where sportsmanship and fair play are paramount--that there could be any serious or organized bigotry," Corum wrote.[42]

But the Daytona Beach newspapers all but ignored the Robinson story over the winter. They ran nothing on a visit by Rickey to Daytona Beach in late October to make preparations for the team's visit to Daytona Beach. Herbert Davidson, the publisher of the Daytona Beach newspapers, was part of the talks but his newspapers reported nothing. Davidson believed that the Robinson story should not incite troublemakers and controlled news content to keep the city calm.[43] A January wire story that addressed Robinson's effect on the future of the Negro Leagues failed to mention that Robinson was bound for Daytona Beach.[44] A story on the farm system did not mention Robinson.[45] In fact, the Daytona Beach newspapers would say little about Robinson during the spring.

ROBINSON ARRIVES

When Robinson arrived in Daytona Beach on March 3, 1946, he stepped off a Greyhound bus and he was angry, dejected, tired, and hungry. Waiting for him were Smith and Rowe. An animated Robinson told Smith and Rowe a tale of bigotry that had followed him on his way to break baseball's color line. Robinson and his wife Rachel had been prohibited from eating in an airport restaurant during a layover in New Orleans and were then bumped from the next flight. After spending the night in a seedy blacks-only motel, they got a flight to Pensacola, where they were bumped and replaced with white passengers. He was already late for spring training and the airline couldn't guarantee if or when a plane would be available to take them to Daytona Beach. The Robinsons endured a 16-hour bus ride, where they had to face the humility of having to sit in the back.[46] By the time they arrived in Daytona Beach, Robinson wanted to go back to California, but Smith and Rowe talked him out of it.[47]

The Associated Press story announcing Robinson's late arrival in Florida contained an official statement from Brooklyn Dodger president Branch Rickey explaining that the ballplayer's flight had been delayed by weather. This false story appeared on the wire services and was reported by the mainstream newspapers throughout the country. Only Jimmy Powers of the New York Daily News, who had long feuded with Rickey, found the team's explanation mysterious. It said that Robinson had twice been bumped off his plane for military purposes at a time when travel priorities have become so relaxed as to preclude such bumping.[48]

Black newspapers were more forthcoming. The Chicago Defender, for example, said that Robinson had been bumped from an airplane in Pensacola with two other passengers "because the plane could not refuel with the weight of the three people aboard. That was the

Dodgers' explanation."[49] The Pittsburgh Courier also was privy to the real story but handled it carefully. Smith wrote that the Robinsons had been bumped off two planes and forced to ride a bus.[50] Several weeks later, Smith admitted that he had withheld certain incidents for fear of jeopardizing the integration of baseball.[51]

Shortly before the start of spring training, Brooklyn, in an effort to accommodate the overfill of players returning from the war, decided to move its AAA teams, the Montreal Royals and the St. Paul Saints, 40 miles west to Sanford for a week and a half. It probably seemed like a good idea to test out integration in the relative obscurity of the rural town, but this turned out to be a mistake. While Rickey and his advance men had spent considerable time with Daytona Beach officials in the weeks and months before camp opened, they did not do this in Sanford.

The press corps in Sanford included sportswriters from The New York Times, New York Daily Mirror, Brooklyn Eagle, Pittsburgh Courier, Baltimore Afro-American, Norfolk Journal and Guide, and wire services such as The Associated Press, United Press, and the American Negro Press Association. Florida newspapers, including the Daytona Beach papers, the Morning Journal and Evening News, relied on wire service accounts. Black sportswriters reported the story with more emotion, more optimism, and more personal details. For instance, black sportswriters editorialized on the significance of the spring training but also were more likely to quote Robinson directly and tell their readers how he was coping with the pressure. Smith published numerous photographs of Robinson, especially of him interacting with white players, while leading white newspapers published no photographs.[52]

While the New York dailies commented on the historical significance of Robinson's first day at practice, black sportswriters, such as Lacy, included such mundane details as Johnny Wright jogging twice around the field alone because the other players had already done calisthenics.[53] Lacy said that Robinson lined the first pitch from the batting machine into left field; his second swing produced a weak roller; and in his third at-bat, he hit an impressive fly to center field.[54] According to Tommy Holmes of the Brooklyn Eagle, however, Robinson bunted twice and swung at three or four others in his first appearance, making little or no contact with the ball.[55]

While the white players resided in the Mayfair Hotel on the lakefront in Sanford, the Robinsons stayed with Mr. and Mrs. David Brock and Wright stayed across the street in the home of Mrs. A.L. Jones. "Both residences are large, elaborately furnished, and extremely clean," Lacy pointed out.[56] Smith told Courier readers that Sanford "was one of the most hospitable cities in the South and from all indications, Robinson will be free of the customary regulations which prohibit Negroes from mingling and associating with white people equally."[57]

But Smith's assessment of Sanford proved overly optimistic. After the second day of practice, a delegation of Sanford citizens told the Montreal team that they would not permit blacks and whites to play on the same field.[58] The Sanford incident went unreported in the press. For Rickey and the Brooklyn organization, the publicity would be embarrassing and might threaten the experiment. Smith also had his reasons for not disclosing the incident -- as he had with the details of Robinson's trip to spring training; again, the sportswriter selectively framed prejudicial news. He felt strongly that the printing of some news could hurt the cause of integration.

Daytona Beach Mayor William Perry and City Manager James Titus told the Courier that Robinson and Wright would be treated no differently than any other ballplayer.[59] An American Negro Press Association story reported that the remarks dispelled fears that the ballplayers would be confrcnted with hostility in Daytona Beach -- as long as they obeyed the city's segregation laws.[60] Robinson and Wright stayed in private homes in the black part of town not far from Kelly Field. The black sportswriters stayed nearby at Bethune Cookman college.[61]

Robinson played four innings at shortstop during a seven-inning scrimmage between Montreal's substitutes and Brooklyn's substitutes at Kelly Field. If there was any significance related to the game, very few newspapers readers knew about it. But it was more than a practice to Lacy, who wrote that "it was the first time in history that a colored player had competed in a game representing a team in modern organized baseball."[62]

Robinson struggled during the first weeks of practice. He threw his arm out throwing from shortstop and had to be moved to first base. He also struggled at the bat. He had little contact with his white teammates before, during or after practices.[63] But this was not the impression conveyed in the newspapers. Stories in the white and black press gave the impression that all was well at Kelly Field. An Associated Press story said that the team was treating Robinson and Wright no differently than anyone else.[64] The Sporting News wrote that there had been no friction between Robinson and Wright and their white teammates during the early days of the spring season.[65]

Smith and Lacy also wrote that Robinson and Wright had been accepted by their teammates and had made friends easily. But their columns were far more personal than their white colleagues. Smith praised the ballplayers for "their determined bid for sports immortality."[66] According to Lacy, Robinson wasn't just playing for himself, he was playing for something bigger. "It is easy to see why I felt a lump in my throat each time a ball was hit in his direction those first few days; why I experienced a sort of emptiness whenever he took a swing in batting practice."[67] It's doubtful a white could or would have written this.

ROBINSON'S FIRST GAME

On March 17, the Brooklyn Eagle reported that Robinson would be in the starting lineup the next day in a game against Brooklyn at City Island Ballpark in downtown Daytona Beach.[68] The New York Times also said that Robinson would play in the game that afternoon. The writer said that the crowd was expected to include many Northern tourists, who would be sympathetic toward Robinson.[69] This game would be the beginning of uninterrupted integration in organized baseball.

The Daytona Beach newspaper said it did not know whether Robinson would play or not.[70] The newspaper gave the history-making game little attention. Perhaps it did not want to draw any attention to the game for fear of inciting the segregationists. Whatever the reason, the newspaper kept the issue at arm's length. For a number of days before the game, there was some doubt whether Robinson would play. Robinson thought that Daytona Beach would prohibit him from taking the field just as Sanford had 10 days earlier.[71] But Brooklyn officials had secured the promises of city officials that the black ballplayers would be allowed to play.[72]

Brooklyn defeated Montreal, 7-2, yet the score was overshadowed by the appearance of Robinson, who played error-free ball during five innings at second base. He went hitless at three at-bats, fouling out twice. In the second inning, he reached first base on a fielder's choice and eventually scored a run. The wire services covered the game. Its significance was noted in newspapers throughout the country. One notable exception was Robinson's hometown paper, the Los Angeles Times, which published nothing about the game before or after it was played.

The New York newspapers, however, provided first-hand accounts of the game stressing the historical significance of the game in the next day's paper, including references to the size of the crowd, Robinson's grace under pressure, and his inability to hit a curve ball.[73] The Daily News said that Robinson made history by becoming the first black to play against a major league team in a regularly scheduled spring training game.[74] The Daily Mirror said it was the first time in 50 years that a black played in a game involved two teams in organized baseball.[75] The Times said the historic game was "seemingly taken in stride by a majority of the 4,000 spectators." It added that the Jim Crow section was inadequate and many blacks had to stand behind the rightfield foul line.[76]

The Associated Press account of the game, which is the one that appeared in newspapers throughout the country, noted the historical significance and said that Robinson had been applauded by both whites and blacks. The Sporting News, however, a national sports weekly, buried the story in a brief, three-paragraph account in the back of the issue.[77]

The game was nearly a week old before Wendell Smith, who had fought so long for the integration of baseball, could tell his readers about it. The world seemed to begin the moment that his friend took the field. "Six thousand eyes were glued on the mercury-footed infielder each time he came to bat. His performance with the willow failed to provide any thrills, but, his vicious swings and air of confidence as he faced real Major League pitcher for the first time, won the admiration of a crowd that seemed to sense the historical significance of the occasion."[78]

The black press, in general, focused on the history-making game but also on the reaction of the crowd. The Norfolk Journal and

Guide said it had predicted that Robinson would be booed by white Southerners but that did not happen.[79] The Washington Afro-American said that Robinson was applauded during each trip to the plate.[80] The New York Age said that the game was like any other except that "one man on the ballfield had a complexion a shade darker than every other player present."[81]

Robinson's struggles at the plate and field caused concern in the black press, though it attracted little mention in the dailies. Lem Graves of the Norfolk and Guide said Robinson obviously was distracted by the team constantly changing his position.[82] Lacy attributed Robinson's hitting problems to racial prejudices. He said pitchers were breaking the rules by cutting the ball to make it curve more.[83] Joe Johnson of The People's Weekly blamed Robinson weak hitting on nerves and his move to first base and then second on a sore arm. Johnson's story also included personal insights into Robinson's life in Daytona Beach. It said that Robinson and his teammates joked about the high laundry costs and the exorbitant living costs. It also said that Robinson was staying with Joe Harris, the Negro mayor of Daytona Beach where "the charming Mrs. Robinson did the cooking."[84]

With the exception of his first day at practice and the March 17 game, most newspaper readers, whether they were in Florida, New York, or elsewhere, had seen little about Robinson. New York sportswriters were more interested in reporting the developments of major league teams such as the Brooklyn Dodgers, not minor league such as the Montreal Royals. In addition, there was the interest in hundreds of servicemen returning from the war in hopes of playing professional baseball. And finally, there was the story that the Mexican Leagues were trying to recruit major leaguers.

The March 19 issue of Look magazine included a profile of Branch Rickey, who was depicted as the Abraham Lincoln of baseball for integrating baseball.[85] Dan Parker of the New York Daily Mirror and Jimmy Powers of the New York Daily News used the article to resume their attacks on Rickey for his cheapness and called the signing of Robinson a publicity stunt. Powers expressed his doubts that Robinson would ever play in the Major Leagues.[86] Although there had been no unpleasantness on the surface, Robinson and Wright were clearly uncomfortable with the problems and pressures of segregation, Parker added.[87]

To Wendell Smith, the comments by Powers and Parker typified the hostility of the white press. Smith responded viciously to Parker and Powers in two articles in the next issue of the Courier, calling them "smutty," "vicious," "putrid," "wacky," and "violently prejudiced."[88] To Smith, there could be no criticism of any aspect of the segregation experiment. The Washington Afro-American published an unidentified report that quoted the Mayor's Committee on Baseball in New York, which had been created to study the integration of baseball, as calling Powers' column "untrue," "vicious," and "insidious." It said that Power's thesis that "whites and colored players cannot compete against each other in sports without the danger of race riot is against the evidence of well-proved facts."[89] The report only appeared in one newspaper, because it probably was not true. Powers had doubted Robinson's chances of playing in the Major Leagues but said nothing about a race riot.

Now that baseball's color line had been broken, the Associated Negro Press reported that the National Football League would be next. On March 21, the Los Angeles Rams signed Kenny Washington, a college teammate of Robinson, ending the league's 12-year ban against blacks. The signing of Washington made the sports pages throughout the country, but, as with the signing of Robinson months earlier, it had special significance to black sportswriters, fans, and blacks.

ROBINSON RECEIVES LITTLE ATTENTION

Baseball's next test with integration came March 24 in Jacksonville. The Florida Times-Union published a story on March 20 that said that in all probability Robinson would be in the lineup on Sunday for a game with the Jersey City Giants, the top minor league team of the New York Giants. It said that the game would likely see the largest crowd in the park's history.[90] But on March 23, the newspaper published a three-paragraph article that said the game had been canceled because the park was unavailable.[91] This must have seemed curious to some readers. If the largest crowd in history was expected, it would have seemed logical to make the park available.

The New York Daily News and other newspapers, however, reported that the game had been canceled because local laws prohibited games between blacks and whites.[92] The Associated Press circulated a more detailed account of the ban, which was published in newspapers throughout the country, including Daytona Beach and Montreal. The story included comments from officials with the city of Jacksonville and the organizations involved, including Rickey, who repeated his contention that he would not defy any segregation laws.[93] The New York Times reported that Jacksonville had been the first Southern city to officially ban the black ballplayers during spring training.[94]

The other black weeklies also downplayed the story. The Chicago Defender published the Associated Press report, while the Norfolk Journal and Guide published an equally mild piece by the American Negro Press Association.[95] Joe Johnson of People's Weekly criticized the officials with the Dodgers and Giants for not supporting the ballplayers more than they had.[96] The Washington Afro-American published a letter to the city of Jacksonville protesting its banning of Robinson and Wright.[97] The Pittsburgh Courier published nothing about the cancellation of the game in Jacksonville, as he had done about Robinson's trip from California to Florida. His motivations appeared to be as follows: Baseball's experiment was best served by praising the successes and suppressing the failures.

Robinson's second game in Daytona Beach drew little attention of his first two weeks earlier. He was not even mentioned by name in The New York Times and only in passing in other newspapers. The significance was mentioned only by the Brooklyn Eagle, which said that the game was important if only for the fact that Daytona Beach permitted the game to be played. "This liberal community held no objections to Jackie Robinson playing first base at City Island Park and Montreal showed its appreciation by beating the Dodgers, 4-3."[98]

Montreal's next road game against Indianapolis was scheduled for March 25 in DeLand. But it was canceled. Indianapolis said it had a night game scheduled the following night and needed to test the lights, which required digging up the cables under the field.[99] The story received little attention in the nation's newspapers. The United Press noted the irony of a day game being canceled because the lights were not working. The headline in the New York Daily News included the pun: "Good Night! Watt Happens Next!"[100] But Fay Young of the Chicago Defender was not amused. He said that at least Jacksonville had been honest enough to "come right out with the reason" for banning the players, while DeLand had the lights as an excuse.[101]

Jacksonville canceled a second game on March 28. The Times-Union of Jacksonville published a brief article that blamed Montreal for the cancellation because it had insisted on challenging the city's segregation laws.[102] But other newspapers criticized Jacksonville. Under the headline, "Rhubarbs abound in the South," the Brooklyn Eagle told readers how Montreal had gone to Jacksonville for the game only to find the ballpark padlocked. The article also included an interview with Rickey, who said that he was more encouraged than discouraged by the events of the spring. Holmes wrote that Rickey sounded like someone determined to fight all summer for his cause. "And," he added, "from what I have observed and from what I listened to in other baseball camps, he'll probably have to."[103]

This cancellation marked a change in strategy for Rickey, who decided to openly challenge Jacksonville's segregation laws, and also by the black press, who became more vocal in their criticism of segregationists. For instance, the Chicago Defender praised Montreal for its support of Robinson and Wright. "If Montreal had capitulated and left the Negro players behind, the setback would have encouraged the obstructionists to close the gates right against any additional dark aspirants."[104] Meanwhile, the Courier's Smith called Jacksonville a city "festering from political graft and vice," while Daytona Beach, by contrast, was "Florida's most liberal and American city."[105]

The next incident came in Sanford, where Montreal went for a game with the St. Paul Saints. Robinson was allowed to start the game but was ordered off the field in the second inning by a local police officer. If you wanted to read about what happened you had to wait until the incident was reported in Robinson's book -- or live in Montreal. The Montreal Gazette reported that the ballplayer was removed from the game.[106] Billy Rowe remembered the game but the Courier mysteriously did not include any mention of it.[107] Lacy had left Florida by then. The New York press corps was in Daytona Beach with the Dodgers. Whether they were aware of the incident or not, they did not report it.

On April 6, Montreal's general manager announced that the team had canceled its final away games of the spring season because city officials in Jacksonville, Savannah, and Richmond told them that blacks would not be permitted to appear on the same field with whites. Smith wrote that the games would have been played as scheduled if Robinson and Wright had been left behind, but that Rickey had refused to compromise.[108] The Norfolk Journal and Guide said Richmond was apparently still "the capital of the Confederacy." It also printed a letter to the owner of the Richmond team that called the decision to cancel the game insulting and foolish.[109] A brief account on the canceled games was distributed by the country's wire services.

In Southern California, readers of the Los Angeles Times had a skewed image of the spring training. In March, the newspaper reported that Robinson arrived for spring training; the next two stories were terse reports noting that the games were canceled because of Robinson.[110] But Burdridge of the California Eagle provided context for his readers by telling them that white fans were cheering for Robinson, even though some people wanted to keep blacks in "their places." He predicted that Robinson would be a success, despite the racism of the South."[111]

Brooklyn expanded its integration experiment on April 5 by signing catcher Roy Campanella and pitcher Don Newcombe from the Negro Leagues. While the signings received little attention in the mainstream press, the black press ran extensive profiles of each ballplayer. The signings of Robinson, Campenella, and Newcombe would be the beginning of uninterrupted integration in the national pastime. Eventually, it would bring about the end of the Negro Leagues, which had existed for decades as a separate league for black players, prohibited from competing in the white leagues.

Different fortunes awaited Wright and Robinson with the Montreal Royals. Wright struggled, was released, and finished his career in the Negro Leagues. Robinson, on the other hand, led the International League in hitting with a batting average of .349. He also led the league's second basemen in fielding. He made the Brooklyn Dodgers's team the next spring, played more than a decade in the major leagues, and eventually was elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame. He died in 1972

CONCLUSION

The Montreal Royals left Daytona Beach on April 14. As the team headed north to begin its season, the Montreal Star ran a preview of the team and its players by position. "The dark Jack Robinson has been pretty steady around second base."[112] In a story the next day, he also was called "dark."[113] None of the other players on the team were mentioned by their skin color. This was fairly mild compared to all that Robinson faced that spring. If the experiment were to succeed, Rickey told Robinson during their first meeting that he would have to have "the guts enough not to fight back." While Robinson ignored the taunts that came his way, the nation's mainstream press ignored the story.

"Baseball's great experiment," as Tygiel called the integration of the sport, was "both a symbol of imminent racial challenge and a direct agent of social change, capturing the imagination of millions of Americans who had previously ignored the nation's racial dilemma."[114] The drama of baseball's first integrated spring training is representative perhaps of how the issues of integration and segregation were covered, or not, by the nation's black press and mainstream press, respectively.

While the mainstream press gave the story far less attention than it deserved, the black press realized its importance -- not only to their readers but to the society as a whole. Unfortunately, black sportswriters, for the most part, wrote for a relatively small readership that was already convinced of the need for integration. They had little effect on the population, as a whole, which read little on racial issues in their sports pages. The Jackie Robinson drama is one of the most important sports stories in America, but it would take American society years to understand what had happened in the spring of 1946.

Through a deeper understanding of media coverage of Robinson's first spring training, journalism history gains a frame of reference for understanding the criticisms of the Hutchins Report. The Robinson story illustrates the problems of a society struggling with the realities of integration. And the story speaks to the depth of the problems we face today in a society still riddled with racial hatred and limited opportunity. The lessons for journalists are simple: We should search for news on the edges of society, for the dreams and struggles and stories not told.

1.The term "organized professional baseball" was used to describe the major leagues and white-dominated professional baseball. Dozens of blacks played in organized professional baseball in the 1870s and 1880s. The ban on black ballplayers came as an unwritten agreement by the league's white owners and managers. See, Robert Peterson, Only the Ball was White (New York: MacGraw-Hill, 1984).

2. Jules Tygiel, Baseball's Great Experiment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); David Wiggins, "Wendell Smith, The Pittsburgh Courier-Journal and the Campaign to Include Blacks in Organized Baseball, 1933-1945," Journal of Sport History 10 (Summer 1983): 5-28; Donald L. Deardorff, "The Black Press Played a Key Role in Integrating Baseball," St. Louis Journalism Review, July/August 1994, 12-14; and Jim Reisler, Black Writers/Black Baseball (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1994).

3. Deardorff, 12.

4. Tygiel, 36.

5. Deardorff, 12.

6. Wiggins, p. 6.

7. Jackie Robinson and Alfred Duckett, I Never Had It Made (New York: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1972), 41.

8. Jackie Robinson and Wendell Smith, My Own Story (New York: Greenberg Publishers, 1948), 56.

9. Robinson, I Never Had it Made, 55.

10. Ira Berkow, Red: A Biography of Red Smith (New York: New York Times Books, 1986), 108; Tygiel, 34-35, 44.

11. "No Good from Raising Race Issue," The Sporting News, 6 August 1942.

12. Commission of Freedom of the Press, A Free and Responsible Press: A General Report on Mass Communication (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947).

13. William B. Kelley, "Jackie Robinson and the Press," Journalism Quarterly 53 (Spring, 1976): 137-139.

14. Patrick Washburn, "Coverage of Jackie Robinson in His First Major League Season," unpublished paper presented to the Minorities Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Annual Convention, Boston, Massachusetts, 1980, 17.

15. Ibid., 18.

16. The following newspapers were used in this study: *The Pittsburgh Courier*, *Chicago Defender*, *The Baltimore Afro-American*, *The Washington Afro-American*, *Atlanta Daily World*, Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, *Amsterdam News*, *The People's Voice*, *California Eagle*, *The New York Times*, Brooklyn *Eagle*, *New York Daily News*, *New York Daily Mirror*, *New York Journal American*, *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, *Daytona Beach Evening News*, *Tampa Tribune*, *Orlando Star*, *DeLand Sun-News*, *Florida Times-Union*; *Montreal Daily Star*, Montreal *Gazette*, *The Sporting News*; *Los Angeles Times*, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, *Philadelphia Record*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and *Toledo Blade*.

17. Reisler, 33-35.

18. Interview with Sam Lacy.

19. Tygiel, 36, 45-46.

20. Interview with Sam Lacy.

21. Tygiel, 40-41.

22. Ibid., 43-44.

23. Daytona Beach *Evening News*, 30 August 1945.

24. Daytona Beach *News-Journal*, 13 November 1988.

25. Interviews with Sam Lacy and Billy Rowe. For background on Mary McLeod Bethune, see, Catherine Owens Peare, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, New York: Vanguard Press, 1951; Emma Gelders Sterne, *Mary McLeod Bethune* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957); Rackam Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune* (Garden City, N.J.: Random House, 1986).

26. Pittsburgh Courier, 9 March 1946; Tygiel, 101-105.

27. The Sporting News, 1 November 1945, 12.

28. Ibid., 5.

29. Ibid., 6.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Oscar T. Barck, Jr. and Nelson M. Blake, *Since 1900 ...* (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 749.

33. The Sporting News, 1 November 1945, 6.

34. Ibid. The Pittsburgh Courier was arguably the most prestigious black newspaper of the time. During World War II, it achieved prominence through a series of editorials and articles aimed at gaining civil rights for blacks through the Double V campaign: the first V was for victory over Germany and Japan in World War II, the second V was for victory over racial prejudices in this country. See, Patrick Washburn, "The Pittsburgh Courier's Double V Campaign in 1942," American Journalism 3 (1986), 73-86.

35. California Eagle, 25 October 1945; Los Angeles Times, 24 October 1945.

36. Brooklyn Eagle, 25 October 1945.

37. Pittsburgh Courier, 3 November 1945.

38. Rowen, 36.

39. Interview with Billy Rowe.

40. Ibid.

41. Daytona Beach Morning Journal, 24 October 1945.

42. Daytona Beach Morning Journal, 26 October 1945.

43. Files of the Daytona Beach newspapers. Interviews with the Davidson family.

44. Interviews with the Davidson family and Robert Hunter, former city editor of the newspapers.

45. Daytona Beach Evening Journal, 23 February 1946.

46. Tygiel, 99-101; Rowan, 132-136; interview with Rachel Robinson; and interview with Billy Rowe.46.

47. Interview with Billy Rowe.

48. New York Daily News, 3 March 1946.

49. Chicago Defender, 9 March 1946.

50. Pittsburgh Courier, 9 March 1946.

51. Pittsburgh Courier, 13 April 1946.

52. See Pittsburgh Courier, 16 March 1946. By contrast, there were no photos in newspapers in such Florida cities such as Jacksonville, Orlando, St. Petersburg, and Miami.

53. Washington Afro-American, 9 March 1946.

54. Ibid.

55. Brooklyn Eagle, 5 March 1946.

56. Washington Afro-American 9 March 1946.

57. Pittsburgh Courier, 2 March 1946.

58. Robinson, My Own Story, 70-74.

59. Pittsburgh Courier, 9 March 1946.

60. Atlanta Daily World, 12 March 1946.

61. People's Weekly, 16 March 1946; interview with Billy Rowe.

62. Baltimore Afro-American, 12 March 1946.

63.Daytona Beach News-Journal, 29 June 1987; Robinson, I Never Had it Made, 56; and Tygiel, 107.

64. Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal, 10 March 1946.

65. The Sporting News, 14 March 1946.

66. Pittsburgh Courier, 16 March 1946.

67. Washington Afro-American, 11 March 1946.

68. Brooklyn Eagle, 17 March 1946.

69. The New York Times, 17 March 1946.

70. Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal, 17 March 1946.

71. Pittsburgh Courier, 23 March 1946; Smith, My Own Story, 78.

72. Smith, My Own Story, 78; Robinson, I Never Had it Made, 58; Rowan, 144-145; and Tygiel, 107.

73. The New York Times, 18 March 1946.

74. New York Daily News, 18 March 1946.

75. New York Daily Mirror, 18 March 1946.

76. The New York Times, 18 March 1946.

77. The Sporting News, 21 March 1946.

78. Pittsburgh Courier, 23 March 1946

79. Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, 23 March 1946.

80. *Washington Afro-American*, 23 March 1946.

81. New York *Age, 23 March 1946.*

82. Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, 23 March 1946.

83. *Washington Afro-American*, 23 March 1946.

84. *People's Voice*, 23 March 1946.

85. Tim Cohane, "A Branch Grows in Brooklyn," *Look*, 19 March 1946, 70-76.

86. New York *Daily News*, 12 March 1946.

87. New York *Daily Mirror*, 20 March 1946.

88. *Pittsburgh Courier*, 30 March 1946.

89. *Washington Afro-American*, 23 March 1946.

90. *Florida Times-Union*, 20 March 1946.

91. Ibid, 23 March 1946.

92. New York *Daily News*, 21 March 1946.

93. *The New York Times*, 23 March 1946.

94. *The New York Times*, 22 March 1946.

95. *Chicago Defender*, 30 March 1946; Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, 30 March 1946.

96. *People's Voice*, 30 March 1946.

97. *Washington Afro-American*, 30 March 1946.

98. *Brooklyn Eagle*, 24 March 1946.

99. Daytona Beach *Evening News*, 25 March 1946.

100. New York *Daily Mirror*, 26 March 1946.

101. *Chicago Defender*, 6 April 1946.

102. *Washington Afro-American*, 6 April 1946.

103. *Brooklyn Eagle*, 29 March 1946.

104. Chicago Defender, 13 April 1946.

105. Pittsburgh Courier, 6 April 1946.

106. Montreal Gazette, 29 March 1946.

107. Interview with Billy Rowe.

108. Pittsburgh Courier, 13 April 1946.

109. Norfolk Journal and Guide, 13 April 1946.

110. See, Los Angeles Times, 5 March 1946; 22 March 1946; and 25 March 1946. However, a two-paragraph story reported that Robinson played April 2 and had two hits in a game against Brooklyn. See, Los Angeles Times, 3 April 1946.

111. California Eagle, 4 April 1946.

112. Montreal Star, 15 April 1946.

113. Ibid., 16 April 1946.

114. Tygiel, 9.

A "SLANDEROUS AND NASTY-MINDED MULATTRESS," IDA B. WELLS, CONFRONTS "OBJECTIVITY" IN THE 1890S

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Abstract:
In the 1890s, professional journalists' societies arose across America, textbooks told journalism students to "chronicle, don't comment," and newspapers and wire services had embraced "objectivity" and the idea that reality lies between competing truth claims. But the idea that the world can be seen without human filters is, of course, problematic. For example, the New York Times and other papers attempted to "balance" their coverage of lynching: on the one hand lynching is evil, on the other "Negroes are prone" to rape. Ida B. Wells, the anti-lynching crusader, critiqued this equation and demonstrated that the underpinnings of the "objective" philosophy could be flawed. Wells showed that "balance" often serves the status-quo, and in the case of lynching, can be a skewed and dangerous construction. In return, the otherwise staid Times wrote an editorial calling Wells a "slanderous and nasty-minded mulattress" in an attempt to discredit her criticisms.

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A "SLANDEROUS AND NASTY-MINDED MULATTRESS," IDA B. WELLS, CONFRONTS "OBJECTIVITY" IN THE 1890S

"[Objective news] is the highest original moral concept ever developed in America and given to the world." --Kent Cooper, AP General Manager[1]

"Objective journalism is a contradiction in terms." --Hunter Thompson[2]

This paper looks at the 1890s, a period in which journalists had great faith in the power of "objectivity." In the 1890s, professional journalists' societies arose across America, and journalism textbooks, newspapers and wire services had embraced "objectivity" and the idea that reality lies between competing truth claims. But the idea that the world can be seen without human filters is, of course, problematic. Through an examination of the mainstream newspapers' coverage of lynching* and a critique of this coverage by Ida B. Wells, an anti-lynching crusader, this paper reveals a fascinating historical moment in which racism and "objectivity" meet and clash; in so doing, the paper examines the concept of "objectivity," its construction, and how it can be compromised by racism and other factors.

"Objectivity" Comes of Age

In the 1890s, "objectivity" became codified as the great law of journalism. For a definition of "objectivity," I examined five leading journalism textbooks and found a common concern with certain "objective" characteristics: detachment, nonpartisanship, the inverted pyramid writing form, a trust in facts or naive empiricism, and balance.[3] Most historians of journalism read for this study agree that fin de siècle newspapers were less partisan, less "biased," more "independent," and more "objective" than their antebellum counterparts. By 1880, directories listed a fourth of all U.S. newspapers as politically "independent"; by 1890, a full third would be classified as such.[4] And nearly all of the major newspapers of the major cities, especially those of the Northeast, regularly asserted their political independence. According to Willard G. Bleyer, an early-twentieth-century press historian, antebellum "views-papers" were replaced by "news-papers."[5]

According to two researchers, Harlan Stensaas and Donald Shaw, "objectivity" rose while "bias" declined in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the decade after the Civil War, only 40% of all surveyed stories were "objective,"[6] wrote Stensaas; by the start of the new century, "objective" stories comprised two-thirds. With the rise of "objectivity," Stensaas argues, came a concomitant rise in the use of authoritative sources and in the inverted pyramid form.[7] Shaw found a decline in "bias" after 1872 and suggested that the decline was due in part to the rise of the telegraph and news wire services.[8] Recent scholarship supports these claims.[9] The personal, partisan, chronological, and religion-based articles of the early part of the century were giving way to articles that contained the characteristics of "objectivity."

By the 1890s, news and "editorial" had become two distinct forms of writing, with news clearly dominant. While most major newspapers had contained a separate section for their editorials at least since the 1830s,[10] by the 1890s, editors were clearly advocating the removal of all "views" from the news copy. Charles Dana, for example, used his editorials to smear President Grant in the 1870s, but instructed his news editors at the Sun to be strictly nonpartisan in their political coverage. The political voice of newspaper reporting was clearly on the wane, and by the late 1880s, one editor who had began his career with a strong political voice, Joseph Pulitzer, was even experimenting with doing away with editorials completely.[11]

The 1890s is one of the first decades when "objectivity" was a recognized ethic in journalism, but also one of the last in which "objectivity" goes basically unquestioned. Michael Schudson addresses a number of factors, such as the First World War and the rise of public relations firms, which pushed journalists to question the idea of "objectivity" in the first half of the twentieth century.[12] In the 1890s, consciousness had not yet been complicated by Freud, observation had not yet been problematized by Einstein, perspective had not been challenged by Picasso, as they all would be in the first years of the twentieth century. The first journalism textbook to challenge "objectivity," with its pointed title, Interpretative Reporting, would not be written until 1938.[13]

Although the "and that's the way it is" belief in "objectivity" still exists among many journalists, it may have very well peaked as an ideal in the 1890s. The 1890s, therefore, can be described, without much simplification, as the first and last time that the ethic of "objectivity" existed in a laboratory-pure environment.

Profession

The "objective" ethic that emerged in the last part of the nineteenth century paralleled a rising sense of journalism as a profession. Before the Civil War, there were no professional societies, college programs or textbooks for journalists in the United States.[14] This began to change after the Civil War, so much so that journalism quickly began to consider itself a profession. Recent scholarship suggests that American journalists thought of themselves as professionals as early as 1876, when the Missouri Press Association was formed, complete with its own "code of ethics." The minutes of the meetings include numerous references to journalism as a "profession," as well as comparisons of journalism with other professions such as medicine and law.[15]

Being a professional, of course, implies that others are "unprofessional." A number of journalists saw professionalization as an efficacious means to uplift journalists and to keep out "unprofessionals." Whitelaw Reid, a leading journalist-turned-politician declared in 1913, "we may hope for some of the sanctions of a profession. The age of Bohemia is gone."[16] Joseph Pulitzer waxed Darwinian in his plans to create his journalism school at Columbia: "I sincerely hope it will create a class distinction between the fit and the unfit," he wrote.[17]

Pulitzer's plans to create a school for journalists went part and parcel with his views about profession and class. Bubbling with optimism and bravura, he wrote "I wish to begin a movement that will raise journalism to the rank of a learned profession," and looked to journalism schools to create a "class feeling among journalists-- one based not upon money, but upon morals, education, and character." As Pulitzer was calling for journalists to be less concerned with money, he may have been recalling the day in January, 1896 when William Randolph Hearst hired away Pulitzer's entire Sunday staff that included R. F. Outcault, the creator of the "Yellow Kid" cartoons from which "yellow journalism" got its name. At the end of a two-day wage battle, Hearst had bought the entire Sunday staff; only a secretary remained with Pulitzer. A little more "character" (read loyalty) and less concern for Hearst's astoundingly high wages might have saved some of Pulitzer's celebrated staff.[18]

The publishers' ideal of journalist-as-loyal-worker has a parallel in journalism education. Charles Ross, in a 1911 textbook, encouraged reporters to "keep yourself out of the story," and to observe this as the central "compact" with the publisher.[19] The act of taking oneself "out" of stories begs the question: what is left in? What remains? The answer is that "objectivity" remains, and the workers' voices are muted. According to James Carey, journalists during this period underwent a "conversion downwards" from "independent interpreters of events" to "brokers in symbols who mediated between audiences and institutions."[20]

Pulitzer's unprecedented multi-million dollar endowment in 1903 to Columbia to found a journalism school[21] was the best known attempt to get academia to help professionalize journalism, but it was not the first. In 1874, Cornell offered a "certificate of journalism," and in 1893, the University of Pennsylvania offered a full degree program.[22] During this time, probably the first comprehensive journalism textbook, Edwin Shuman's Steps Into Journalism (1894) was published as an "aid to students in certain collegiate courses and in schools of journalism."[23]

Shuman's 1894 textbook reflected many of the changes in journalism from the antebellum era. First, its concern with and support for formal education represented a departure from the old school of thought, exemplified by the belief of the Herald editor and newspaper historian, Frederic Hudson, that the newspaper office "is the true college for newspaper students....Professor James Gordon Bennett or Professor Horace Greeley would turn out more real genuine journalists...than the Harvards, the Yales, and the Darmouths could produce in a generation."[24] The book also shows how far newspaper establishments had come since the days of Bennett's one-man show in the basement of a run-down walk-up. The newspapers described in Shuman's book were great monuments to modern business; Shuman describes the various positions in the newspaper establishment: the copy editors, the book reviewers, the exchange editor, the sports editor. Journalists had become cogs in a great journalistic machine.

The greatest journalistic change, however, that is reflected in Shuman is the ubiquitous style of writing called the inverted pyramid which was employed by the wire services and by every major newspaper. Shuman mentions the inverted pyramid by name, probably the first textbook writer to do so. He explains, "the inverted pyramid....[is] the trick of serving the dessert first and the soup last." Shuman discussed the "five W" lead, a component of the inverted pyramid, as the "first and greatest commandment" of journalism.[25] We know that the inverted pyramid was already widely practiced in news rooms across the country before Shuman's book was published; in 1892, for example, a cub reporter named Theodore Dreiser was confronted by an editor who told him that the first paragraph of a news story should contain "Who or what? How? When? Where?"[26]

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Dates of Principal Events Discussed in this Paper

1877	End of Reconstruction
1883	U.S. Supreme Court overturns the 1875 Civil Rights Act
1889-1894	More than 1000 African Americans are lynched in the U.S.
1893	Chicago's Columbian Exposition
1894	Edwin Shuman's Steps Into Journalism
	For the first time, Ida B. Wells is noticed by the New York Times
1896	Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* codifies "separate but equal"

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The Inverted Pyramid and the Coverage of Lynching

The inverted pyramid was not standard by the Civil War, but it was by the 1890s. This contention is supported by researchers[27] and can be confirmed by a perusal of almost any major U.S. daily. An 1898 story in the Herald, "MOB MURDERS A NEGRO OFFICIAL," is a classic nineteenth century inverted pyramid, which differs only from the modern kind because of its inclusion of specific details in the first paragraph. It begins

> CHARLESTON, S. C., Tuesday. In Lake City, a town of five hundred inhabitants, sixty miles north of here, an angry mob of from three to five hundred men lynched Frazer B. Baker, the negro Postmaster, his three-year-old daughter Dora, early this morning, and wounded Baker's wife, two grown daughters and a ten-year-old son.[28]

Reading about lynching through articles written in an inverted pyramid, "objective" form is a queer and unpleasant experience: There is no outrage. The first reason there is no outrage is that the ethic of "objectivity," which tried to offend no one, did not permit "views" to be expressed by writers. The second reason is that many whites, even in the north, even in newspaper offices, were not entirely anti-lynching, as these pages will show. In fact, when emotion is displayed in articles about lynching, it is generally outrage over the alleged crimes of the African Americans who were lynched.

Whites lynched African Americans by hanging them, shooting them, mutilating them, roasting them alive, and employing various other means of torture and death in each of the sixty-seven years between 1880 and 1947. During that time more than four thousand African American men, women and children were lynched.[29] The practice peaked during the years of this paper; more than a thousand African Americans were lynched from 1889-1894.[30] To gage the dimensions of lynching, consider the following: in the worst year, 1892, there were twice as many lynchings of blacks as there were legal executions of all "races"* throughout the United States.[31] Many of the lynchings were covered by the leading white papers of the north, affording a rich opportunity for historians to examine the prisms through which newspapers saw "racial groups" and "race" violence. Through this examination, I will discuss the limitations of the ethic of "objectivity."

An 1892 article in the New York Times, "NEGROES LYNCHED BY A MOB," is a textbook inverted pyramid. It begins:

> MEMPHIS, Tenn, March 9.-- At dawn this morning the dead bodies of three negroes riddled with bullets and partly covered with brush were found in a lot about one and a half miles from the heart of the city....
>
> The negroes, whose bodies were literally shot to pieces by this mob, were Calvin McDowell, William Stuart, and Theodore Moss.[32]

The Theodore Moss of Times' story was actually Thomas Moss, a friend, as it turned out, of the newspaper editor Ida B. Wells; that fact put Wells in the intimate position shared by anyone who has witnessed an event and read about it later: the position to see that the reporting of an event is always filtered by perception and prejudice. Her position would allow Wells to change perceptions about lynching and to critique the mainstream press coverage of it. Her criticism of the white media will serve as a foundation for our discussion.

Wells, arguably one of the more heroic figures in American history, was born a slave in 1862. Orphaned in a yellow fever epidemic at 14, she had to begin work as a school teacher to support her five siblings. One day, at age 22, Wells was riding the "ladies coach" of a train in Tennessee and was asked by a conductor to move to the smoking car, where the African Americans rode. She refused, and the conductor tried to remove her. Wells "fastened [her] teeth in the back of his hand," before she was dragged out by three trainmen. She independently sued the railroad and won a major (albeit temporary) blow against the growing list of Jim Crow laws. The case attracted much attention and Wells found herself on the front page of papers across the south. The Memphis Daily Appeal announced, "A Darky Damsel Obtains a Verdict for Damages against the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad."[33] Wells began to write articles, becoming a correspondent and then editor of the African American weekly, the Memphis Free Speech and Appeal. Wells' campaign to boost circulation of the Free Speech tripled its readership and at age 27, she became a part owner of the newspaper. Through Wells' efforts, the Free Speech became one of the leading African American newspapers in the South.[34]

The article in the New York Times about the lynching of Moss and his associates reflected racial stereotypes about whites and blacks, notably about bravery. The whites who lynched Moss, McDowell, and Stuart made a "quick and quiet march" to the county jail, where they searched for the "thoroughly alarmed" blacks. By both the Times' and Wells' account, Moss made a quick plea for blacks to leave the state, to go west. "If you are going to kill us turn our faces to the west," he was quoted as saying. But in the following sentence, the writer of the article reverted back to the stereotype of the weak black, describing how the whites had killed the "shivering negroes."[35]

According to the Times' account, Moss and his associates were lynched because of their "ambushing and shooting down" of four "Deputy Sheriffs," who were "searching" for an outlaw.

The legality of whites' position, among other things, was questioned by Wells in her next issue of Free Speech. Moss and his colleagues, wrote Wells, were simply businessmen who had opened a shop, the People's Grocery Company, that competed with a white-owned store in a predominantly black area. Whites began to harass the store, and planned to attack it on a Saturday night. When whites gathered in the back of the store and fired into it, the blacks in the store returned fire and wounded at least three men, the men the Times called "Deputy Sheriffs." More than a hundred African American men were arrested, and Moss, McDowell, and Stuart were taken from their jail cells and lynched. Following the lynching, the mob looted the People's Grocery Store, and according to Wells, "destroyed what they could not eat or steal."[36] The African American residents of Memphis were sufficiently horrified by the brutality of the lynching-- Memphis had relatively few lynchings for a southern city-- that hundreds of residents simply packed up and left the city.[37]

Because Wells felt that the New York Times was wrong on so many points-- Moss and associates were not cowards, were not lawless, were not aggressors, were not outlaws, and were simply the victims of ruthless (not law-abiding) whites who feared economic competition-- she suddenly came to realize that many aspects of lynching may have been misunderstood. For example, Wells herself had accepted as true that the "lawlessness" of blacks contributed to lynching, specifically that blacks were lynched because they raped white women. In Wells' words,

> Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Lee Stewart had been lynched...with just as much brutality as other victims of the mob; and they had committed no crime against white women. This is what opened my eyes to what lynching really was. An excuse to get rid of Negroes who were acquiring wealth and property and thus keep the race terrorized and "keep the nigger down."[38]

In the two months that followed Moss's death, Wells began to investigate lynchings across the south. She found a number of surprises. First, she discovered that despite the belief that most lynchings were a response to blacks raping whites, the fact was that rape was not even the stated cause in most cases. Second, she discovered that black victims were often charged with rape only after the lynchings became public. Third, through an investigation of specific cases, Wells learned that charges of "rape" were often cases involving a black man and a white woman caught in a consensual relationship. Wells wrote in an editorial, "Nobody in this section believes the old thread-bare lie that Negro men assault white women. If Southern white men are not careful they will over-reach themselves and a conclusion will be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women."[39]

Wells had, to put it mildly, struck a nerve. We know this because of the vehemence of the response to the editorial. The Memphis Commercial Appeal, thinking that the unsigned editorial was written by a man, suggested castration and lynching: "The black wretch who had written that foul lie should be tied to a stake...a pair of tailor's shears used on him and he should then be burned at a stake."[40] That week in Memphis, Free Speech was quieted, its office and type destroyed, and its editors, including Wells, were chased out of town.

The "Threadbare Lie," Information, and Lynching

The "threadbare lie" as Wells called it, the belief that blacks were lynched because they raped white women, was believed by practically everyone. The lynching of Moss and associates was covered by most of the major newspapers in the North. It is very likely that Frederick Douglass, now in his last years of life, read about the case closely and was dismayed over the black "crimes." Douglass told Wells that until he read her evidence to the contrary, he too was troubled by "lasciviousness on the part of Negroes."[41] If Douglass, an untiring supporter of African American causes, could believe the "threadbare lie," then surely most everyone did as well. This impression, that blacks were culpable, was conveyed by the journalism of the elite newspapers.

The New York Times, by the 1890s, had embraced what Michael Schudson has called the "information" model of journalism, a reliance on "information" as opposed to the "story" model of Hearst and Pulitzer's papers.[42] The coverage of lynching in the Times was generally written in "balanced" way, with two opposing views presented. But how does one balance a story about lynching? The Times explained how in an 1894 editorial. On the one hand, the Times wrote, people who take the law into their own hands are savages. On the other hand, "the crime for which negroes have frequently been lynched [rape], and occasionally been put to death with frightful tortures, is a crime to which negroes are particularly prone." The solution, according to the Times, which could on one hand end lynching, and on the other satisfy the lynchers, would be "to make it again a capital offense, and to see that judicial processes are not so much slower and less exemplary than mob law as they are now." In other words, the solution would be for the government to hang blacks legally and nearly as quickly as the mobs did.[43] These views on lynching, recorded in the editorial pages of the Times in 1892, remained even beyond 1896, when Adolph Ochs bought the newspaper. Ochs, who in his inaugural editorial promised, "no radical changes," evidently did not replace the writer who wrote that African Americans were "particularly prone to rape": this same phrase appeared again in an 1897 editorial.[44] Throughout the mid-1890s, even after Ochs took over, the New York Times remained strikingly consistant in its news and editorial policy toward lynching.

The above editorials reflected how the Times covered lynchings in the 1890s. On one typical day in 1892, the Times reported four cases of lynching. In each case, the guilt of the victims was assumed: "NEW-ORLEANS, La., July 6--Smith Tooley and John L Adams...were hanged last night...in the Court House Yard....Their crime was the murder of Mr. Benson Blake...last Thursday..."; "JASPER, Ala., July 6-- A negro was lynched here yesterday. He attempted to assault two white women...."; "WESTON, West Va., July 6--...Edgar Jones, the young negro who murdered Michael Tierney...was hanged by a mob...."; "RICHMOND, Va., July 6-- William Anderson, colored, was taken from the jail...and lynched. He was awaiting trial for an attempt to assault Miss Shelburn, a white girl about fourteen years of age."[45] The four stories share at least three characteristics: First, each mentions that the victims were accused but not convicted of a crime. Second, the articles assume the guilt of the victims anyway: "Their crime was...," and the other statements of guilt are regurgitations of the lynchers' claims, another practice that continued after Ochs bought the Times.[46] Finally, the articles share an "objective" and "balanced" tone. A reporter conveys both the lynching and the charges against the accused.

The ethic of "objectivity" demands that reporters take themselves out of the story, and nowhere in my research for this paper did I find the reporter's view explicitly written ("I believe that x is guilty"). Occasionally, a Times reporter would express outrage. But the rest were told matter-of-factly. On one hand, someone was accused of a crime[47]; on the other hand, someone was lynched. But black guilt was assumed in nearly every story. In one story, the reporter wrote: "A very young white girl was criminally assaulted by a negro...last week. The people rose en masse to lynch the brute." Later in the story, we are told that a suspect was found, and despite the "girl's" statement that the suspect was not the right man, the angry mob of five hundred lynched him anyway. "Somebody has to die," a mob-member shouted before they hanged him and mutilated his body. The New York Times reporter was horrified by the "angry, irrational, bloodthirsty" mob, but the horror was in response to killing the wrong person, not to the act of lynching in general.[48]

Wells' technique for responding to the mainstream coverage of lynching was to research the facts surrounding each lynching case. An Associated Press report on an 1892 lynching explains, "The big burly brute was lynched because he had raped the seven-year-old daughter of the sheriff." Wells visited the scene and discovered the "girl" was a grown woman, that the lynched man was a worker on the sheriff's farm, and that the two were found in the black man's cabin.[49] Time after time Wells found that innocent blacks were lynched.

Operating under the belief that most lynching victims were criminals, the New York Times and other newspapers sought a common ground or balance between what they saw as the legitimate complaints about blacks and the need to quell mobs, as the following lead sentence in an editorial indicates: "The people of the South are doing themselves...a grievous injury in so far as they give countenance to lynch law in dealing with negro criminals, however atrocious may be the crimes perpetrated by them."[50] Where the New York Times saw the lynching issue as a delicate balancing act, Wells saw murderous whites attacking innocent blacks.

We now know that Wells was right. History is, by its nature, a slippery business, but it is hard to imagine a balanced view on lynching based on what modern scholars now know. To deny this would be to slip into historical relativism. Modern scholarship supports all of Wells' major contentions.[51]

Historical Factors, Corroborating Scholarship

The lynchings during the 1889-1894 period came at an especially difficult time for African Americans, especially in the political arena. By 1889, the political and legal strides of 1864-1870 -- the 13th Amendment (ending slavery), the 14th Amendment (granting blacks full citizenship), and the 15th Amendment and Enforcement Act (granting and enforcing suffrage)-- were under attack and in some cases overturned. In 1872, the Freedmen's Bureau, which despite some mismanagement had ameliorated conditions of ex-slaves, was abandoned. In 1875, the Enforcement Act and the Fifteenth Amendment were virtually nullified by a series of Supreme Court decisions. In the 1876 Presidential election, Democrats vowed to end Reconstruction altogether. When the election became deadlocked, Rutheford B. Hayes, the Republican presidential candidate, cut a deal to gain the presidency, a deal which included the removal of Federal troops in 1877. The year 1877, therefore, is widely used by historians as the end point of Reconstruction. After the Supreme Court in 1883 overturned the 1875 Civil Rights Act, most southern states developed separate and unequal systems of schooling, transportation, and various other services. Although the 1896 Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* is popularly seen as instituting the "separate but equal" doctrine, it merely codified existing practice.[52] In this historical context, lynching, the removal of the civil right of the "pursuit of life," can be seen as the removal of one right (albeit the most important) of many to be rolled back.

The year 1889 marked the start of what historian Joel Williamson called a "hot time" in the history of American race relations with white violence just one of many tools to affect the total subjugation of blacks.[53] The five-year period beginning in 1889 was troubled perhaps most especially by an economic depression throughout the United States which was most severe in the South.[54] This led to the emergence of an organized and increasingly radicalized labor force during this period (In 1886, the American Federation of Labor put out a call for a general strike to push for an eight-hour day and 350,000 workers across the country boycotted their jobs; days later the violent Haymarket Riots in Chicago pitted workers against business interests; in 1888, Edward Bellamy, wrote Looking Backward, a socialist book about inequality which sold more than a million copies; and Joseph Pulitzer could sell papers in 1883 with a message to workers on the front page that included a radical tax plan.[55]). In the South, the Democratic party saw erosion of its ranks due to the growing People's or Populist Party, which began to pick up many votes.[56] Labor became increasingly organized in the South, and white and black workers even marched together in a number of cases, horrifying white Southern conservatives.[57] At stake was nothing less than the Democratic hegemony of the South, and 1888 saw the election of a Republican president. While the economy was stricken in the south came two issues that may have very well contributed to white fears of economic competition from blacks: First, in 1889, the administration of Benjamin Harrison appointed more blacks to Federal posts than any other previous administration. Second, and perhaps most important, research has suggested that blacks worked harder and more productively than whites, for less pay.[58] It was only during this critical period of economic depression, growing labor strength, and a realization that blacks were a real and growing labor force, that whites started to write about black rape.[59] Wells' suggestion that lynching had an economic component is supported by these facts.

Williamson wrote, "it is, indeed, one of the great ironies of American history that when the nation freed the slaves, it also freed racism." It also freed blacks to compete with whites on the open market and as Williamson notes, the rise of anti-black violence coincided with the time that the first young men born free, in 1865, were coming of age and entering in competition with whites.[60] Southern whites used countless methods of keeping blacks "down."[61] But the perception of black "lawlessness" was the excuse that undergirded the efforts. Perhaps the most potent vehicle for thwarting competition from blacks was the convict lease system by which prisons received free (mostly black) labor and made money by hiring out teams to mines, factories and farms. From 1865 to the period of this study, the number of white prisoners in Southern jails did not change significantly and fell as a percentage of the white population as a whole; during that time the population of black prisoners rose about 900%.[62] In 1890 alone, more than 27,000 prisoners, nearly all African American, were put to work for free in the south. The unpaid convicts, of course, were a boon for white capitalists, but may very well have worsened conditions for other white and black laborers.[63]

Another way that whites intimidated blacks was through riots. Race riots had been, before our period, two-sided affairs. By the 1890s, however, research shows that they had changed: whites were now beating blacks at will, with little resistance.[64] In Springfield, Illinois, in 1908, just shy of the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth, whites rioted and lynched two blacks in a three-day spree. First a white woman claimed that she was raped by a black man. Then she recanted her story, admitting that she had been assaulted by a white whom she would not identify. Despite this information, a white mob destroyed African American homes and businesses, found an African American barber and lynched him next to his shop. On the next day, the mob lynched an eighty-four-year-old black man whose crime was to have been married to a white woman. The leaders of the lynching went unpunished.[65] The riot and lynchings illustrate a number of points argued by modern scholars. First, that rape was often charged but rarely proven. Second, that blacks were often lynched for economic reasons (as in the barber's case) or for consensual relationships (as in the case of the elderly man). Third, that the legal system was not ready to punish lynchers. From 1919 to 1940, numerous antilynching bills were introduced in Congress. None passed.[66]

Williamson concluded that just as "the Negro as stereotypical child" during the antebellum period was the product of white slavers' imagination, the myth of the lawless African American was a creation of the 1890s white southern racist. "The black beast rapist did not exist," wrote Williamson.[67] He was the product of the white southern mind, conveyed to the general population in part by the conventions of "objective" journalism.

The Battle Between Wells and the New York Times

After Wells printed her editorial about the "threadbare lie," a mob destroyed her printing type and chased her partners out of town. Wells herself barely missed lynching by the mob and fled to New York City. In New York, Wells worked for a leading African American newspaper, the New York Age, and published pamphlets about lynching which sold well to a mainly-black audience.[68] Wells' forced exile from Memphis was, ironically, a fortuitous event for the anti-lynching cause. Traveling between New York and London, the two newspaper capitals of the English speaking world, Wells quickly began to gain access to an audience vastly wider than her 4000-copy Free Speech ever could.[69] Her trips to Britain awakened the activists of that country, much the same way that Frederick Douglass and other abolitionists had done two generations before. Wells began to focus her attention on the white press, "since it was the medium through which I hoped to reach the white people of the country, who alone could mold public sentiment."[70] With British activists and clergymen speaking out and even sending antilynching delegations to the U.S.,[71] the New York Times and others began to take notice, and after Wells arrived back in New York, she was regularly featured in news stories.

The Times first noticed Wells in April, 1894 when its London correspondent wrote that a "coffee-colored lady" was interviewed by the British Chronicle, "in which sensational charges, unhappily true in the main, are very skillfully mixed with stuff which I feel sure is not true." The correspondent called for "sober-minded, responsible Americans" to repudiate Wells' words.[72] If "sober-minded, responsible Americans" are needed to repudiate Wells, the syllogism goes, then Wells must be neither sober-minded nor responsible.

The Times here and elsewhere tried to place Wells outside the limits of mainstream journalism and cast her as a deviant. Wells was seen as outside the Times's "rational" sphere of discussion, and was associated with emotionality, dogmatism, and many of the traits that we might imagine when we think of people viewed as "deviants" by mainstream journalists.[73] According to the Times' fiction, sober and responsible Americans, of which the New York Times counted itself, discussed issues rationally, while Wells' views and appeal were based on emotion. "Wells...has deeply excited crowded gatherings by tales of lynching in the South (emphasis added)," wrote the Times, stressing

Wells' emotionality.[74] The Times also suggested that Wells' motives for going to Britain were not pure, the purpose of the "enterprising missionary" being an "income rather than an outcome."[75] It may very have been that the Times considered that, as an African American, and as a woman, Wells could not be "objective."[76] Never, in the articles read for this study, were her views "balanced" by those of whites; instead, the Times dealt with her charges directly in their editorial pages, or balanced her views with those of blacks. Her views, depicted as emotional and dangerous, were not to be included in any debate with sober whites.

The Times, despite its criticism of Wells, was hardly without emotion itself, despite positioning itself in the sober and responsible camp. In addition to its habit of prejudging lynching victims and saving its greatest outrage for African American "brutes," the Times showed its true colors by embarking on a series of ad hominem attacks on Wells. When a British committee was formed to combat lynching, the Times fumed in an editorial that "it is especially to be deplored that it should take this action at the insistence of a slanderous and nasty-minded mulattress, who does not scruple to represent the victims of black brutes in the South as willing victims."[77] Another ad hominem attack came when Wells arrived back in New York. The Times announced that a "negro...wretch" had committed a "fiendish crime," an assault on a white woman in New York City. The crime, the Times wrote, "may serve to convince the mulatress missionary that the promulgation in New-York just now of her theory of negro outrages is, to say the least of it, inopportune."[78]

The Times had drawn a line between the emotionalism of Wells on the one hand and its own sober, responsible journalism on the other. In Discovering the News, Michael Schudson wrote about the dichotomy between "information" and "entertainment" journalism. The Times had set itself up as an example of the former and had set up Wells, intemperate and irresponsible, as an example of the latter. The act of casting out irresponsible journalists and spokespeople was a familiar exercise for the New York Times and other elite newspapers in the end of the nineteenth century. For this we will briefly look at the Wells/Times battles in the context of newspaper wars of the 1890s.

The Newspaper Wars of the 1890s: Battle Against the Upstart Journalists: "Civilization"

By the 1880s, the upstart New York pennies-- the Sun, Herald, Times, and Tribune-- had long since vanquished the old antebellum press leaders, the now-dead partisan press. By the 1880s, the former pennies were now the establishment. In 1883, this establishment was shaken when Joseph Pulitzer bought the New York World and quickly injected it with his brand of sensationalism, popularizing huge headlines, pictures, women's pages, self-promotion, and immoderate writing. In 1895, William Randolph Hearst bought the New York Journal and "began where Pulitzer had the virtue to stop,"[79] producing even greater sensationalism and forcing Pulitzer to try to keep pace. The older papers recoiled in horror at the changes, for many journalistic and non-journalistic reasons, including that they quickly saw their readership dwarfed by that of Pulitzer, soon to be joined by Hearst.[80]

The penny-cum-elite journalists asserted their "objectivity" and the immoderation of their rivals. The elite papers waged a "moral war" against the sensational and successful Pulitzer and Hearst, much like the one the old elite conducted against the sensational and successful James Gordon Bennett a half century before. The former pennies and the yellows split roughly into two camps, the "information model" and the "story model."[81] This dichotomy is, of course, a construction; however, differences between, say, the Times, and the World are apparent when one compares the two papers. After an explosion sunk the U.S. battleship Maine in Havana Harbor in 1898, the Times printed a relatively dry account. In contrast, the World ran inflammatory pieces such as an imaginative illustration of a U.S. sailor at the instant of the explosion, startled in his hammock with outstretched arms clutching for his life. The picture ran in the days following the explosion when the idea of reparations from the Spanish (who, the World was convinced, was responsible) was raised; a caption below the picture reads "CAN MONEY PAY FOR THIS?"[82] There are, of course, stories in information-based newspapers and information in entertaining papers, and one press historian, John Pauly, has called the information-entertainment distinction "intellectually feeble"; but Pauly did acknowledge that the distinction is a way for journalists to "defend a particular style of professional practice."[83]

In the 1890s, the elite journalists defended themselves by attacking the yellows and non-"objective" journalists; what they said was often more reflective of the critics than of the subjects. In this way "objective" journalists defined themselves by defining others. These definitions fell within three categories, each relating to Wells in some way. First the elite newspapers depicted the yellows as deviants. Second, they saw their rivals as feminine. Finally, the yellows (and people such as Wells) were depicted as uncivilized.

The first way that the elites defined themselves was by casting the yellows as deviants, outsiders and "freaks." Charles Dana, then the publisher of the Sun, embarked on a lively, often anti-Semitic campaign against Pulitzer, who was born Jewish but who had converted to Christianity. Dana asserted, "I have never published a falsehood." Pulitzer responded with the bravura of an earlier upstart, James Gordon Bennett, "that's another lie."[84] But Dana, known for his temper and faced with the World's overtaking his paper in circulation, became vituperative, regularly deriding his rival's ethnicity, calling him "Judas Pulitzer," and printing thrice-a-week editorials which usually contained the line, "move on, Pulitzer, move on."[85]

The New York Times, meanwhile, drew a sharp distinction between itself and the yellows. In Adolph Ochs' inaugural editorial, he wrote of his desire to publish an "impartial" and "high-standard newspaper, clean, dignified and trustworthy."[86] Six months later, when the World and Journal were publicly arguing over the veracity of a Journal illustration depicting a fair Cuban woman being strip-searched by sinister Spanish soldiers, the Times took notice of the "rivalry of our esteemed freak contemporaries."[87] Modern readers who have pondered the genesis and meaning of the Times' motto, "All the News That's Fit to Print," need only consider that the phrase was placed in the masthead by Ochs himself, at the height of the *unfit* yellow's war, when the Times had a circulation of 9,000 and the World 600,000.[88] The yellows, according to the elite papers, had little breeding or dignity, were "freaks" even, like you would find in P. T. Barnum's museum.

The second way the elites defined themselves was by the suggestion that "objective" journalism, despite its relatively sedentary nature, was somehow a masculine endeavor. The celebration of masculinity during the 1890s has been discussed recently by David Shi, a cultural historian. Shi argued that the "cult of the strenuous life," exemplified by the hard-living Theodore Roosevelt celebrated "rough sports" (including football and boxing) and "manly" strength as a means of reinforcing views of social Darwinism and even racial and cultural superiority. Emerging alongside this celebration of manliness was a "masculine" school of writers who celebrated these characteristics.[89] Journalists, although not mentioned in this context by Shi, can be seen as fitting into this category. Journalism requires "staying power," wrote Whitelaw Reid in 1913, "No man who cannot, like the pugilist, 'take punishment,' has any business in it."[90] In 1893, Charles Dana wrote that if a man reads political columns in the newspapers, he may become a good reporter, "but if, instead of that, he takes up a magazine and sits down to read a love story, you can not make a newspaper man out of him."[91] Dana's dig about love stories is a pretty good description of the newspaper of his nemesis, Pulitzer. The World included many columns which catered to women, including fashion, beauty, and etiquette articles, and (quelle horreur!) love stories.[92]

The third way that the elite newspapers defined themselves by defining others is by calling non-"objective" journalists uncivilized and suggesting that elite journalists were closely tied to polite society and to the great Western Civilization. As opposed to the colorful "yellow" journals, the Times claimed that its own paper "does not soil the breakfast cloth." The world of Times readers, the fiction went, was a place where white breakfast cloths existed-- a place, suggested Schudson, that appealed to breakfast-clothless readers who bought their Times (after Ochs lowered its price to a penny) as a mark of high society.[93]

The idea that "objectivity" was somehow connected to Civilization went beyond a way to advertise oneself. Charles Dana, for example, wanted his reporters to know Greek and Latin, to read Shakespeare, the Bible, and other "Great" literary works.[94] For Dana, the paradigm for news gathering represented another western tradition, the tradition of an industrialized and stratified society, one that gains its wealth from the service of others. The publisher saw newspapers as having "its fingers reaching out toward every quarter of the globe...bring[ing] back the treasures of intellectual wealth that are stored up there."[95] With the newspaper's wire services, reporters, and editorial writers performing the "drudgery," editors are "emancipated" from hard labor and free to live an unburdened life of thought and devotion to civilized society.[96]

The three criticisms of the yellows that the elite journalists used-- that they were deviants, unmanly, and uncivilized-- were reflective of prevailing views at the time. All of these views can be seen in Chicago's much-celebrated Columbian Exposition of 1893. The purpose of the Exposition was to show the "progress of civilization in the New World." The exhibition was divided into two sections, the "White City" and the "Midway." The section known as the White City was an intricate array of buildings celebrating the various achievements of white men; a smaller "Woman's Building" emphasized the domestic role of women. The "Midway" was a broad avenue devoted to "authentic" villages going from the more "civilized" European villages all the way to a tribe of androgynous Africans who wore grass skirts and danced to tom-toms. Exhibition-goers were encouraged to visit the White City first, then the Midway. "What an opportunity was here afforded to the scientific mind to descend the spiral of evolution," wrote the Chicago Tribune, "tracing humanity in its highest phases down almost to its animalistic origins." White men could define themselves as Civilized and manly merely by comparing themselves to the skirted Africans.[97] Since their very existence belied the truth of both the White City and the dancing Africans, African Americans were not depicted at all, a fact that Wells and Frederick Douglass protested through the publication of a pamphlet, distributed from the tiny Haitian wing of the exhibit.[98]

The Columbian Exposition helps us to understand both the elite journalists' views on lynching and their rejection of Wells as a reliable source. First, lynching was seen as a way for "Civilized" whites to regulate the "savagery" of blacks. Like the White City, which portrayed blacks as savages to contrast them with white "civilization," lynched blacks were seen as savages so that white men could define themselves as noble and manly. Time after time, the elite media spoke of the unspeakable "crimes" of black men against white women. Research has shown that this had no basis in reality, but it did follow the belief system of the Exposition and the society at large.[99] Wells was thwarted in her attempts to be heard because the idea that whites were more civilized than blacks was deeply ingrained in mainstream journalists' belief systems. Understanding lynching as white terrorism of blacks would undermine these beliefs. The second barrier against Wells was that she herself was considered less reliable because she belonged, according to the Exposition narrative, in the three categories that the elites used to define non-"objectivity": she was an outsider, a woman, and a member of an "uncivilized race."

Not Ready to Take the Quotes Off "Objectivity"

All the aspects of what modern textbooks call "objectivity" were in place in the 1890s, but the truth about lynching, or even a reasonable facsimile of the truth, was not conveyed by the mainstream media. Quite simply this is because reporters, despite their claims to be "objective," did not (and do not) operate in a vacuum. This is what makes the information-story dichotomy so untenable: information cannot be conveyed without an organizing narrative, and stories cannot be told without conveying information. In the case of lynching, the Times and other papers could not convey certain information without the intrusion of cultural biases and journalistic demands.

Cultural biases cannot be obliterated by "objectivity." The historian, Robert Darnton, writing about his experiences as a young reporter for the Newark Star Ledger and New York Times in the late 1950s and early 1960s, recalled how he and other reporters often assembled facts around narratives that reinforced preset cultural frames. "We simply drew on the traditional repertory of genres. It was like making cookies from an antique cookie cutter," he wrote.[100] Writing for a newspaper that embraced all the elements of "objectivity," Darnton still had to conform to the expectations of his editors and readers.[101] Stories about Britain were a mixture of stock images: ascots, bowlers, cockneys, and royalty. Stories about blacks and whites also fit into a "cookie cutter," not unlike the one reporters used in the last century to cover stories of lynching.

The conventions of journalism, what modern textbooks call "news values,"[102] also compete with "objectivity." One of the oldest[103] and greatest journalistic commandments of them all is that a news story should be interesting. Articles that astonish the reader, called variously "man-bitesdog,"[104] or "holy shit"[105] stories, reflect this commandment. Even "objective" newspapers are not immune; they too print stories that cater to the emotions and tastes of their readers.[106] The Times in 1896 may have called the yellows "freaks" for being obsessed with the Cuban woman who was searched by the Spanish, but when she arrived in New York harbor a few weeks later, the Times was there to get an interview.[107]

As readers, we are surprised when men bite dogs. We are surprised because of the reversal, what Roland Barthes has called, the "disturbed causality" of the situation. There is no human-interest news, Barthes wrote, without astonishment.[108] The astonishment of a story also tends to reinforce our prejudices about causality: If we read of a man biting a dog, we are subtly reminded that dogs usually bite men. If read about a rich, famous man who kills his wife and her lover, we are astonished because there is a relatively higher correlation between poverty and violence.[109] "News is designed to resonate through to a society," wrote Mitchell Stephens,[110] and surprise happens where grounded cultural stereotypes are subverted.[111] It is difficult for a newspaper reporter to go against the grain of deeply embedded cultural beliefs. For an "objective" reporter, who has taken herself "out of the story" and given up her independent voice, it is nearly impossible.

Wells Tries to Break In

Wells tried to vault over these formidable barriers into the mainstream discussion. Her limited success was achieved by two methods: First, she engaged "objectivity" on its own turf, fighting over facts and notions of "civilization." Second, she tried to do an end-run around "objectivity," practicing what is now called "public journalism."

Wells had to enter the world of "objectivity" to combat it. She did this by engaging elite journalists in a discussion about two topics they held dear: "civilization" and facts. If the New York Times and others would claim "civilization," she reasoned, let them truly defend it. "Prove your man guilty, first," Wells told a London newspaper, "hang him, shoot him, pour coal oil over him and roast him, if you have concluded that *civilization* (emphasis added) demands this; but be sure the man has committed the crime first."[112] This was a point raised time after time by Wells, a point that had some resonance in the elite newspapers. In one of the few times that Wells was quoted in the Times, she said, "we want at least to have [the guilt of black men] established by a court competent to try him before he is executed, and we want the black man's home to be as sacred from invasion as that of any other man in the land."[113]

Wells also asserted her ability to be "factual." She carefully supported her argument with facts gleaned from white-owned papers; her statistics on lynching, for example came from the columns of the Chicago Tribune.[114] In a pamphlet published by the African American newspaper, the New York Age, Wells called her work a "contribution to truth, an array of facts." Echoing this sentiment, Frederick Douglass, in a forward to that work, remarked that Wells "dealt with the facts with cool, painstaking fidelity and left those naked and uncontradicted facts to speak for themselves."[115] Here Douglass was casting Wells in the role that was guarded by the "objective" journalists: a "manly," information-centered investigator, unseduced by something more potent than any character in any love story, the "naked fact."

Lynching continued well into the twentieth century, long after the death of Wells in 1931. Given the narrow question of whether Wells was able to successfully break into the mainstream press, it appears that the story did not end happily for Wells (references to Wells in the New York Times index simply dissapear after 1895). However, she was able to achieve some victories,[116] her antilynching work did earn Wells recognition among African Americans, and others built upon her work and took up the fight.[117] She achieved all this not through the mainstream newspapers, but by practicing what journalists and media critics now call "public journalism."

The idea of "public" or "civic" journalism may very well be the most hotly debated concept in journalism today. Public journalism departs from the "objective" model in two basic ways: First, it seeks other sources beyond the standard authority spokespeople that "objective" journalists quote in their binary balancing act. Second it helps to organize the public to act for themselves and it "crosses the line" from reporting to engaging citizens in seeking solutions. Although critics and proponents of public journalism often see these trends as "new," Wells was using these methods a century ago to achieve her aims.[118]

By the turn of the century, journalists had firmly embraced the idea that the truth can be gleaned by balancing quotes of figures of authority, a practice still in use today, as any astute news consumer would know. "No one looks for [news] anymore," wrote Julian Ralph, a correspondent for the New York Sun, in 1903,

> That is an old-fashioned idea which outsiders will persist in retaining. News is now gathered systematically by men stationed at all the outlets of it, like guards at the gate of a walled city, by whom nothing can pass in or out unnoticed."[119]

Ralph was supporting this practice, but Wells knew that balancing the views of any two people in the "walled city" of authority would be fruitless, because they were all white and nearly all of them shared certain basic beliefs about lynching.

Like the newspaper and AP reporters who filed stories about lynching, Wells packed her bags and traveled to the crime scenes. Unlike these reporters, however, Wells relied on African American eyewitnesses and her own observations. With one sentence, Wells was able to contradict the AP correspondent who reported that a lynched man had raped a seven-year-old: "I visited the place afterward and saw the girl, who was a grown woman more than seventeen years old."[120] The most important two words in the last sentence? They are "I" and "saw," two words that "objective" journalists almost never use together.[121]

The most important difference between the mainstream reporters and Wells was that Wells, after gathering her data, took action and counseled others to do the same. After investigating lynchings herself, Wells began to urge northern blacks to establish a "bureau" to "procure authentic news,"[122] presumably as opposed to the stuff of the elite newspapers. In response to lynchings, Wells often encouraged group action. Like public journalists, when confronted with apathy, Wells would form groups herself, including the Negro Fellowship League, which became active in Chicago.[123] Her activist journalism may be best represented in the final section of her pamphlet, "Southern Horrors," titled, "Self Help." In this section, Wells calls for more proactive measures to end lynching-- economic coercion, including migration away from the south and boycott of the rails, and self defense. "A Winchester rifle should have a place of honor in every black home, and it should be used for that protection which the law refuses to give."[124] Wells had not taken herself "out" of the story; in fact, she tried to insert not only herself but all African Americans.

Conclusion

This is an essay about the failure of "objectivity" to recognize a truth, that African Americans were being terrorized across the nation. Ida B. Wells, through careful research and impassioned pleas confronted "objectivity" and showed that mainstream journalists, while professing their "objectivity," were operating under flawed and culturally biased assumptions. In the case of lynching, "objectivity" failed the truth. All the "objective" reporters and all the "objective" methods could not put together a reasonable understanding of lynching. That truth lay outside the rhetoric of "objectivity." Wells was not "objective," but perhaps some journalists ought not be.

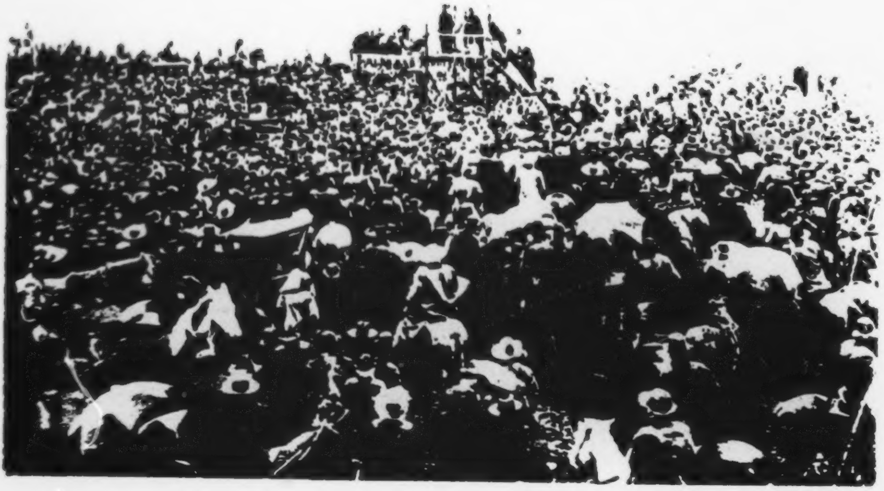
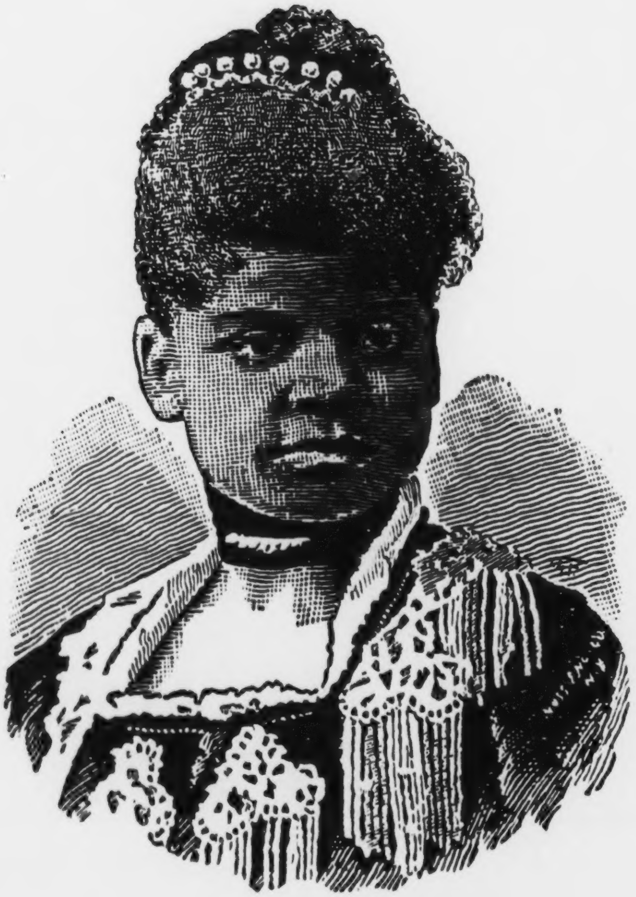


Figure 1. "Little Myrtle Vance Avenged," 1 February 1893. An African American accused of killing a child is lynched by slow burning in Paris, Texas as hundreds look on.



IDA B. WELLS.

Figure 2. Ida B. Wells in the 1880s.

Bibliographic Essay

Ida B. Wells' autobiography, Crusade for Justice: the Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), and her pamphlet, "Southern Horrors" (New York: The New York Age Print, 1892), are still the best records of her life and thought. These two works, alongside the mainstream newspaper coverage of lynching, were the main sources for this paper. Gail Bederman's "'Civilization,' the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells' Antilynching Campaign (1892-94)," Radical History Review, volume 52 (Winter, 1992), is an excellent analysis of Wells' critique of mainstream notions of "civilization." The racism and violence of 1890s are analyzed at length in three broad histories: Joel Williamson's The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Edward L. Ayers' Vengence and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th -Century American South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); and John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss's From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans (7th Ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), which contains an excellent bibliographical essay about race relations and violence on pp. 601-602. Finally, Michael Schudson's Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978) is still one of the most important books about American journalism, and I have had to reconcile my theories against his.

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[1] Quoted in W. B. Blankenburg, and R. Walden, "Objectivity, Interpretation, and Economy in Reporting," Journalism Quarterly, volume 54 (1977), pp. 591-592.

[2] Quoted in Clio Among the Media, (Summer, 1992) p. 10.

* Lynching, as it was practiced at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century is defined as mobs killing people by extrajudicial methods, often by hanging. Lynching was widespread in the American South in the 1890s. The victims were mostly black men and the killers were almost always white men.

[3] I define objectivity by a number of characteristics found modern journalism textbooks: Fred Fedler, Reporting for the Print Media (Second Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979). Melvin Mencher, News Reporting and Writing (Sixth Edition. Madison, Wisconsin: Brown and Benchmark, 1994). Mitchell Stephens, Broadcast News (Second Edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986). Mitchell Stephens and Gerald Lanson, Writing and Reporting the News (Fort Worth: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1986). The Missouri Group (George Kennedy, Daryl R. Moen, and Don Ranly), Beyond the Inverted Pyramid: Effective Writing for Newspapers, Magazines, and Specialized Publications (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

[4] Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism, A History: 1690-1960, Third Edition (New York: Macmillan Co., 1962), pp. 411-412. In his recent book, The Commercialization of the News in the 19th century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), Gerald J. Baldasty notices that early nineteenth century editors were "advocates for political parties" and the editors who came later were "advocates for business" (p. 141). While this reading of the broad changes in journalism may be over-simplified, it does reflect the broad shifts American journalism had undergone in the middle of the 19th century.

[5] Willard G. Bleyer, The Profession of Journalism: A Collection of Articles on Newspaper Editing and Pubishing, Taken From the Atlantic Monthly (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1918), pp. xvii-xviii.

[6] Harlan S. Stensaas, "Development of the Objectivity Ethic in U.S. Daily Newspapers," Journal of Mass Media Ethics, volume 2, number 1 (Fall/Winter 1986-87), pp. 50-60. Stensaas did not say how he defined "objectivity" for his content analysis.

[7] Stensaas, "Development of the Objectivity Ethic in U.S. Daily Newspapers," pp. 50-60. One question, however, comes to mind when reading Stensaas's article: if the use of authoritative sources and the inverted pyramid form are part and parcel of "objectivity," then is not the paralell rise necessary, thus creating a circular argument?

[8] Donald L. Shaw, "At the Crossroads: Change and Continuity in American Press News 1820-1860." In Journalism History, volume 8, number 2, Summer, 1981, pp. 5-7. It should be noted, however, that wire services and telegraph had been around long before 1872.

[9] For a full discussion of this issue, see David T. Z. Mindich, Edwin M. Stanton, the Inverted Pyramid, and Information Control," Journalism Monographs, (August, 1993), pp. 1-4.

[10] See the New York Herald, and the Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer during the 1830s, for example.

[11] Janet E. Steele, The Sun Shines for All: Journalism and Ideology in the Life of Charles A. Dana. (New York: University of Syracuse, 1993), pp. 102, 156.

[12] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 121-159. Other writers, including David Eason, explore how the reletivism of a later period, the

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1960s, ruptured the myth of "objectivity." See especially Eason's two articles, "New Journalism, Metaphor and Culture," The Journal of Popular Culture, volume 15, number 4 (1982), pp. 142-148. and "On Journalistic Authority: The Janet Cooke Scandal" Critical Studies in Mass Communication, volume 3 (December, 1986), pp. 429-447.

[13] Curtis MacDougall, Interpretative Reporting (New York: Macmillan, 1938).

[14] Joseph A. Mirando, Journalism by the Book: An Interpretive Analysis of News Writing and Reporting Textbooks, 1867-1987 (Dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1992), pp. 1-30.

[15] Stephen A. Banning, "Discovering a Mid-Nineteenth Century Drive for Journalistic Professionalization," unpublished paper, presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, 1994, Atlanta, pp. 2-18. Banning's research places professionalism earlier than does the leading work on the subject, Hazel Dicken-Garcia's Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America (Madison, Wisconsin: Univerisity of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

[16] Whitelaw Reid, American and English Studies, Volume 2: Biography, History, and Journalism. (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), p. 219.

[17] Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," North American Review (May, 1904), p. 649.

[18] Joseph Pulitzer, "The College of Journalism," p. 657; W. A. Swanberg, Pulitzer (New York: Scribner, 1967), p. 206.

[19] Charles. G. Ross, The Writing of News: A Handbook with Chapters on Newspaper Correspondence and Copy Reading (New York, Henry Holt, 1911), p. 18. Ross's book may be the first to contain a reference to journalistic "objectivity." Ross quotes a newspaper article which begins: "The three notes of modern reporting are clarity, terseness, and objectivity." [p. 17].

[20] James W. Carey, "The Communications Revolution and the Professional Communicator," The Sociological Review Monograph, number 13 (1969), p. 32.

[21] For details of the endowment, see Swanberg's Pulitzer, pp. 303-306; 413-414.

[22] Mirando, Journalism by the Book, p. 1.

[23] Edwin L. Shuman, Steps into journalism: Helps and Hints for Young Writers. (Evanston, IL: Correspondence School of Journalism, 1894), p. viii. The two most complete discussions of early journalism textbooks are Mirando's Journalism by the Book and his "Journalism's First Textbook: Creating a News Reporting Body of Knowledge." (Unpublished paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Kansas City, 1993).

[24] Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper & Bros., 1873), p. 713.

[25] Shuman, Steps Into Journalism, pp. 60-62.

[26] Theodore Dreiser, Newspaper Days (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), p. 67.

[27] Harlan Stensaas, in his The Objective News Report: A Content Analysis of Selected U.S. Daily Newspapers for 1865 to 1954 (Dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1987), finds that the inverted

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pyramid form was common by the 1880s and standard by the turn of the century [p. 57]. Also see Mindich, Edwin M. Stanton, the Inverted Pyramid, and Information Control."

[28] New York Herald, 23 February 1898.

[29] Joel Williamson, The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 118. See also John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans (7th Ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994), p. 312.

[30] Arthur F. Raper, The Tragedy of Lynching (New York: Dover, 1933), p. 480. According to Walter White's Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch (New York: Knopf, 1929), more than 1000 blacks were lynched from 1889-1894 [p. 231].

[*] I use "race" in its cultural context here, as I do words such as "black" and "white" which are problematic scientifically. Without going into the centuries-old debate on naming, I use words such as "black" and "African American" because they are shorter than a more accurate and descriptive title would be.

[31] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, p. 185.

[32] New York Times, 10 March 1892.

[33] Ida B. Wells Barnett, Crusade for Justice: the Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 7-19. The State Supreme Court later overturned Wells' award and forced her to pay court costs.

[34] Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 19-41; Julius E. Thompson, The Black Press in Mississippi 1865-1985 (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 1993), p. 8.

[35] New York Times, 10 March 1892. Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 50-51.

[36] Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 49-51.

[37] Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 50-55.

[38] Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. 64.

[39] Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 65-66.

[40] Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. 66.

[41] Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. 72.

[42] Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 88-120.

[43] New York Times, 2 August 1894.

[44] Ochs' first editorial was on 19 August 1896. The editorial about lynching appeared on 9 June 1897.

[45] New York Times, 7 July 1892.

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[46] See, for example, New York Times, 26 June 1897 and 11 Dec 1897.

[47] In an article written in a detached and "objective" style, Thomas N. Page writes about "The Lynching of Negroes-- Its Cause and its Prevention" (North American Review [January, 1904], pp. 33-48). In the article, Page makes the assertion that innocent blacks are never lynched, and calls for the death penalty for blacks convicted of rape.

[48] New York Times, 27 April 1893.

[49] Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. 65.

[50] New York Times, 22 September 1893.

[51] The first major work on the Reconstruction period was William A. Dunning's Reconstruction, Political, and Economic, 1865-1877 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907). Reconstruction, according to Dunning, was a terrible era, most especially because of free blacks. The Dunning school, as the early twentieth century Reconstruction historians came to known, depicted blacks as stupid, drunken, murderous beasts, "little above the intellectual level of the mules they drove" (Quoted in Gerald N. Grob and George A. Billias Interpretations of American History: Pattern and Perspectives, volume 2 [New York: Free Press, 1992], p. 119). The Dunning school's findings were popularized by Birth of a Nation, the 1915 film celebrating the victory of the Ku Klux Klan over powerful and lusty blacks. Since the 1920s, historians have been correcting the myths perpetuated by the Dunning school. John Hope Franklin's Reconstruction: After the Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), his From Slavery to Freedom, and Eric Foner's Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (New York: Perennial Library, 1988) are three later works that deal with the period and point out the Dunning school's many misrepresentations. For two detailed historiographical essays, see Franklin and Moss, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 593-596, and Grob and Billias, Interpretations of American History, volume 2, pp. 116-142.

[52] Franklin and Moss, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 253-265. In The Crucible of Race (p. 344) Williamson called the *Plessy* decision a "progressive" one since separate systems already existed and the Court added the criterion of equality. The use of 1877 as the final year of Reconstruction is discussed in Eric Foner's Reconstruction, p. xxvii.

[53] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, p. 513.

[54] Edward L. Ayers, Vengence and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th -Century American South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 250.

[55] For a discussion of the labor movement in the 1880s, see Howard Zinn, A People's History of the United States, 1492-Present (New York: Harper Perennial, 1995), pp. 247-289; Swanberg, Pulitzer, p. 76. Pulitzer's progressive manifesto was largely adopted in later years. It reads: "1. Tax Luxuries. 2. Tax Inheritances. 3. Tax Large Incomes. 4. Tax Monopolies. 5. Tax the Privileged Corporation. 6. A Tariff for Revenue. 7. Reform the Civil Service. 8. Punish Corrupt Officers. 9. Punish Vote Buying. 10. Punish Employees who Coerce their Employees in Elections. This is a popular platform of ten lines. We recommend it to the politicians in place of long-winded resolutions."

[56] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, p. 114.

[57] Ayers, Vengence and Justice, p. 216.

[58] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, p. 114.

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[59] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, p. 117.

[60] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, pp. 109-111.

[61] Franklin and Moss write, "The law, the courts, the schools, and almost every institution in the South favored whites. This was white supremacy." From Slavery to Freedom, p. 263.

[62] Ayers, Vengence and Justice, pp. 180-181.

[63] Ayers, Vengence and Justice, p. 193-220.

[64] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, p. 189.

[65] Franklin and Moss, From Slavery to Freedom, pp. 316-317; Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 299, 309.

[66] Franklin and Moss, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 355. A few bills passed in the House of Representatives, only to be defeated in the Senate, where Southerners had greater leverage to block bills.

[67] Williamson, The Crucible of Race, pp. 309-310.

[68] Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 60-65; 72.

[69] The suppression of Free Speech provides a lesson for would-be press censors: Wells was forced out of her small community and gained an international forum. In 1894, the Brooklyn Eagle, unsympathetic to Wells' views, offered to pay Wells' transportation back to Memphis and her salary to keep her relatively quiet as the editor of her "one horse" paper, Free Speech (quoted in Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. 221).

[70] Gail Bederman, "'Civilization,' the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells' Antilynching Campaign (1892-94)," Radical History Review, volume 52 (Winter, 1992), p. 13.

[71] New York Times, 11 September 1894.

[72] New York Times, 29 April 1894.

[73] Here I use Daniel Hallin's discussion of "objective" journalism in his book, The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam (New York: Oxford, 1986), p. 116.

[74] New York Times, 24 June 1894.

[75] New York Times, 2 August 1894.

[76] Nathan I. Huggins, a historian, argues that this view had been until recently the prevailing one in the historical profession, that black historians were always seen as having an "ax to grind" (in Grob and Billias, Interpretations of American History, pp. 160).

[77] New York Times, 2 August 1894.

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[78] New York *Times*, 27 June 1894. The *Times*' response to Wells was much milder than that of the Southern papers. One paper, the Memphis *Commercial*, printed an attack against Wells so "coarse" that no British paper would quote it, according to an article in the Liverpool *Post* (Wells, *Crusade for Justice*, pp. 183-185).

[79] Swanberg, *Pulitzer*, p. 67; the criticism of Hearst is in Elizabeth S. Bird, *For Enquiring Minds : A Cultural Study of Supermarket Tabloids* (Knoxville : University of Tennessee Press, 1992), p. 18.

[80] In 1883, The *Sun* was New York's circulation leader, followed by the New York *Herald*, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, and the *World*. By 1895, the *World*'s morning and evening circulation was greater than all these papers combined. Steele, *The Sun Shines for All*, pp. 142-143.

[81] These are Schudson's distinctions. Schudson, *Discovering the News*, pp. 88-120.

[82] New York *Times*, 16 February 1898; New York *World*, 25 February 1898.

[83] John J. Pauly, "Rupert Murdoch and the Demonology of Professional Journalism." In *Media, Myths, and Narratives : Television and the Press*, James W. Carey, Editor (Newbury Park, Calif. : Sage Publications, 1988), p. 252.

[84] Stephens, *A History of News*, p. 121.

[85] Steele, *The Sun Shines for All*, pp. 143-144; Swanberg, *Pulitzer*, p. 146.

[86] New York *Times*, 19 August 1896.

[87] New York *Times*, 16 February 1897. The battles between the *World* and *Journal* continued throughout the Spanish-American War. The *Journal* got its revenge on the *World* when the latter paper cribbed news from the former that a Colonel Reflipe W. Thenuz had died. The *Journal* gleefully announced that the news was a hoax to trap the *World*. The letters in "Reflipe W. Thenuz," the *Journal* revealed, can be rearranged to read, "We pilfer the nuz." Swanberg, *Pulitzer*, pp. 251-252.

[88] Schudson, *Discovering the News*, p. 111.

[89] David Shi, *Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture, 1850-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 216-220.

[90] Reid, *American and English Studies*, p. 343.

[91] Charles A. Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making* (New York: D. Appleton, 1895), p. 41.

[92] For a rich discussion of the *World* and women, see George Juergens, *Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 132-174, esp. 133-159.

[93] Schudson, *Discovering the News*, p. 112.

[94] Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making*, pp. 32,48.

[95] Dana, *The Art of Newspaper Making*, p. 5.

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[96] Dana, The Art of Newspaper Making, p. 64.

[97] This analysis of the exhibit relies on Bederman's "'Civilization,' the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells' Antilynching Campaign (1892-94)," pp. 9-11.

[98] Bederman, "'Civilization,' the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells' Antilynching Campaign (1892-94)," p. 11-12.

[99] In addition to articles already cited, see Page, "The Lynching of Negroes-- Its Cause and its Prevention," pp. 33-48.

[100] Robert Darnton, "Writing News and Telling Stories," Daedalus, volume 104, number 2 (Spring, 1975), p. 189.

[101] The expectations of readers was also the focus of Robert Entman's book, Democracy Without Citizens (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[102] Mitchell Stephens and Gerald Lanson, in Writing and Reporting the News (Fort Worth: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1986), list a number of characteristics that together make up "news judgement." They include "impact," "weight," "controversy," "emotion," uniqueness," "prominence," "proximity," "timeliness," and "currency," all values that compete with the information or "objective" model of journalism (pp. 67-70).

[103] A news article should "possess interest for the reader," wrote Jesse Haney in Haney's Guide to Authorship, Intended as an Aid to All who Desire to Engage in Literary Pursuits for Pleasure or Profit (New York: Haney and Co., 1867), p. 88.

[104] Stephens, A History of News, p. 136.

[105] Carlin Romano, "What? The Grisly Truth about Bare Facts," in Robert K. Manoff and Michael Schudson, Reading the News: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture (New York: Pantheon, 1986), p. 44. As an example of a "holy shit" story, Romano lists a headline in the Philadelphia Inquirer: "Guest Drowns at Party for 100 Lifeguards."

[106] Pauly, "Rupert Murdoch and the Demonology of Professional Journalism," p. 254. David M. White, in "The 'Gate Keeper': A Case Study in the Selection of News," Journalism Quarterly, volume 27 (1951), p. 386, studied the selection process of a telegraph editor over the course of a week. White found that the editor's biggest reason for rejecting stories was that they were not "interesting." The tabloid tastes and those of the "objective" journalists often collide, the coverage of the recent trial of O. J. Simpson offering a case-in-point. In 1986, when I was working for CNN, a number of news stories were covered the same way by CNN and the Weekly World News, one of the most sensationalistic supermarket tabloids.

[107] Schudson, Discovering the News, pp. 113-114.

[108] Roland Barthes, "Structure of the *Fait-Divers,* " in Critical Essays, translated by Richard Howard (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972). Walter Lippmann, in Public Opinion (New York: Free Press, 1949) writes extensively about how journalists use stereotypes (pp. 53-100, especially p. 63).

[109] This "reversal of the situation" is central to the dramatic form of tragedy as well. Aristotle, Aristotle's Poetics, translated by S. H. Butcher (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961), p. 72.

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[110] Stephens, A History of News, p. 139.

[111] As any etymological dictionary will reveal, "stereotype" and "cliché" are printing terms, dating from the 18th and 19th century, respectively. The development of the stereotype press is discussed in Charles Sellers, The Market Revolution : Jacksonian America, 1815-1846 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 369-370.

[112] Bederman, "'Civilization,' the Decline of Middle-Class Manliness, and Ida B. Wells' Antilynching Campaign (1892-94)," p. 17.

[113] New York Times, 30 July 1894.

[114] Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. xxii.

[115] Ida B. Wells, "Southern Horrors," pamphlet (New York: The New York Age Print, 1892), pp. 1-3.

[116] Wells, Crusade for Justice, pp. 253, 312-317.

[117] Antilynching articles can be found in the N.A.A.C.P. journal, Crisis and elsewhere; White's Rope and Faggot was a scathing denunciation of lynching.

[118] A few recent articles outline the basic ideas of public journalism: Davis Merritt and Jay Rosen, "Imagining Public Journalism: An Editor and Scholar Reflect on the Birth of an Idea," Roy W. Howard Public Lectures in Journalism and Mass Communication Research, Number 5 (April, 1995); Mike Hoyt, "Are You Now, or Will You Ever Be, A Civic Journalist?" Columbia Journalism Review (September/October 1995); and Jay Rosen, "Making Things More Public: On the Political Responsibility of the Media Intellectual," Critical Studies in Mass Communication, volume 11 (1994): pp. 362-388. Also see Davis Merritt's Public Journalism and Public Life: Why Telling the News is Not Enough (New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1995).

[119] Julian Ralph, The Making of a Journalist (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1903), pp. 10-11.

[120] Wells, Crusade for Justice, p. 65.

[121] In "Who? Sources Make the News," in Manoff and Schudson's Reading the News, Leon V. Sigal writes, "News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened....even when reporters are in a position to cover an event directly, they feel bound by [the conventions of objectivity] to record what sources say has occurred rather than to venture, at least explicitly, their own version of the event" (p. 15).

[122] New York Times, 30 July 1894.

[123] In 1909, Wells encouraged young men in Chicago to found the "Negro Fellowship League" to respond to the Springfield riots. Wells, Crusade For Justice, pp. 299-300.

[124] Wells, "Southern Horrors," pp. 22-23.

The *New Republic* and Japanese Mass Internment During World War II, 1941-1945:
The Liberal Magazine's Uniqueness and Limitations

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate how the New Republic, one of the foremost liberal magazines of the nation, covered the Japanese mass exclusion and internment during World War II. The investigation was done by analyzing all the editorials, columns, articles, and letters published from 1941 through 1945. By assessing both its liberal uniqueness and limitations, this research will attempt to contribute to clarifying the outer sphere of the wartime marketplace of ideas in America.

Price Competition

The *New Republic* and Japanese Mass Internment During World War II, 1941-1945: The Liberal Magazine's Uniqueness and Limitations[1]

I. Introduction: The Purpose and Significance of the Research

On February 19, 1942, some two months after the Pearl Harbor attack and subsequent American entry to the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt promulgated Executive Order 9066 that eventually forced more than 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry[2] on the West Coast (and some Italian and German nationals as well) to move to which today many historians call inland "concentration camps."[3] The mass exclusion and internment were completed within 1942 and thus the civil rights and liberties[4] of the Japanese (of them about two-thirds were American citizens) kept being systematically restricted until near the end of the war without a benefit of trial and without any evidence of conspiracy or subversion in the name of military safety and prevention of sabotage and espionage.[5]

But how did the press in America report this episode, which a journalism historian called "the nation's worst single episode of intolerance"[6] during World War II? Scholars have produced a variety of previous studies and they collectively provide sufficient knowledge about the internment coverage of the mainstream media, especially of newspapers on the West Coast.[7] In general, the mainstream news media were silent or indeed sustained the internment. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians in its 1982 final report listed the lack of strong opposition from the press among the conditions which permitted the government's decision.[8] But such generalization of the mainstream press inevitably generates interests to the non-mainstream liberal press. And the purpose of this research is to analyze how the New Republic, one of the most prominent liberal magazines of the nation, covered the Japanese mass exclusion and internment.

Most of the time, scholars of American magazines classify the New Republic, usually together with the Nation and some others, in the liberal, dissent, and pro-minority camp. Theodore Peterson wrote in a chapter entitled "Magazines for Cultural Minorities" that the New Republic "stood alongside the *Nation* as an organ of liberalism ...."[9] Previous scholarship largely agrees that this group has historically been more expected and more likely than others to advocate the civil rights of unpopular groups. James Playsted Wood discussed those magazines in a chapter entitled "Liberalism and Iconoclasm in the Magazines" and wrote: "*The New Republic* is a companion liberal magazine as sharply critical of the social and political scene. *The New Republic* also has been the friend of labor, the foe of fascism or anything it sees as fascistic in tendency, the enemy of economic privilege, and a strong proponent and defender of civil liberties."[10] Emery and Emery's following passage also endorses their special position in American journalism in wartime: "[During World War I,] civil liberties were best defended by the liberal magazines, led by the *Nation* the *New Republic*, and by a few newspapers ...."[11]

Scholars also agree that despite their relatively small circulations these liberal magazines have maintained considerably intellectual and influential readership. The New Republic allegedly had some 41,000 readers at the end of World War II. But, since its inauguration in 1914, circulation figures "hugely understate the impact of the magazine."[12] Peterson remarked: "Probably one reason for the influence of the minority magazines [such as the New Republic] was that they reached an audience in a position not only to influence the tastes and opinions of countless others but also to exert a strong hand in the shaping of public affairs."[13] David H. Hollinger discussed that the discourse of the American intellectuals during the 1940s was chiefly institutionalized in such journals as the New Republic.[14] On these grounds, one can reasonably say that the considerable portion of the New Republic's readership was as attentive to civil rights issues as the magazine itself was, and the magazine in turn reflected the view of that liberty-conscious, influential segment of the society.

Unfortunately, however, few scholars have examined how this influential liberal magazine covered the Japanese mass internment. Lauren Kessler provides a very brief sketch of the liberal magazines' war coverage as follows: "Unlike World War I, ... nearly all left wingers supported American entry into World War II. All through 1940, the country's two leading liberal journals, *Nation* and *New Republic*, grew increasingly bellicose, ... carrying on a noisy campaign for suppression of isolationists and right wingers."[15] But this general passage is too remote to specify one liberal magazine's standpoint on the internment. Hendrik Hertzberg, a senior editor of the New Republic, once very slightly mentioned that his magazine "defended civil liberties, attacking the internment of the Nesei [sic]" during World War II.[16] But Hertzberg provided no evidence for his statement. Thus, this project is motivated by the fact that the literature of the Japanese internment press coverage totally lacks an investigation into that liberal part of American journalism.

What makes this research even more meaningful is that previous literature displays ample evidences that the mainstream press, general public opinion,[17] local executive branches and legislatures,[18] courts,[19] and even some liberal social organizations such as active minority groups or civil rights groups[20] were all generally inactive, ineffective, limited, or in many cases even negative in advocating the people of Japanese descent. Several studies emphasize that there were some tolerant, protective, and favorable movements and organizations for the Japanese. But those could hardly render substantial influence to the pro-internment majority.[21] Under such social circumstances during World War II, the well-recognized liberal press such as the New Republic was one of the very limited elements of the society that could be hoped to throw influential dissents into the predominantly anti-Japanese climate of the whole nation. And therefore, the present study will ultimately contribute to creating the visibility of the outer sphere of the marketplace of ideas in the wartime American society.

II. Methodology

This study will qualitatively analyze all the editorials, columns, general articles, and letters to editors pertaining to the Japanese exclusion and internment published in the New Republic between 1941 and 1945. Editorials and articles which do not mention the internment directly but are relevant to this study's investigation will be analyzed as well. Those include the ones in which the magazine reported or editorialized about Japan and her aggression over Asia, importance of national unity, justification and purpose of the war, and civil rights issues in general. This study evaluates editorials and "The Week" columns as the official editorial stance of the magazine. General articles and letters will not be treated as the announced editorial stance of the magazine itself. But publications of those will be examined as strong indicators of its editorial tendency.[22]

This study will mainly focus on the coverage between the Pearl Harbor attack in December 1941 and official announcement of the internment's termination in December 1944. But in order to examine the transformation and consistency of the magazine's position to civil rights issues and its post-internment attitude, this project will also investigate the issues during several pre-war and post-internment months, formulating the whole time frame from 1941 to 1945.[23]

In accordance with the chronological developments of events, this study divides the whole time frame into five shorter time frames. The first is the pre-Pearl Harbor period: From January 1941 through November 1941. The second is from December 1941 through February 1942. It is when America declared the war, the anti-Japanese feeling soared on the West Coast, and mass exclusion and internment program was planned by the administration. The third covers the period between March 1942 and the end of 1943. It is when the program was implemented and the War Relocation Authority (WRA) started to take in charge of camp operations. The fourth covers the whole year of 1944 when the war turned to be fairly favorable for the nation, the WRA accelerated the partial release and resettlement of the interned Japanese, and the military regulations on the West Coast were finally rescinded. The final time frame, the year of 1945, is the period when the most interned Japanese were freed from camps to return and resettle, and the WRA closed itself.

III. The Findings

Period One: From January 1941 to November 1941

The year of 1941 witnessed a rapid deterioration of the U.S.-Japan relationship. Japan signed the Axis pact in Berlin in September 1940 and, by the time the Roosevelt Administration froze Japanese assets in the states in mid-1941, the war between the two nations was becoming more and more unavoidable.

From the early stage of 1941, the New Republic keenly urged the administration to take hawkish diplomacy against the Axis powers with a firm belief that America and its allies must protect the world's democracy against fascism. At the same time, the magazine stressed the need to maintain domestic democracy when the nation would enter the war. In the issue of February 17, the magazine cautioned that wartime hysteric atmosphere could cause endanger civil liberties and contended that the public at large must vigorously protect them.[24] By asking, "what is it in America that is challenged by fascism that we want to defend," the New Republic argued: "We are sure of two things: that democracy in America will survive only as a progressive democracy and that it will be kept progressive and alive only if we as the people claim it to be ours."[25] Particularly for "liberal and democratic organizations," the editors insisted that they "must fight violations of these fundamental rights even when their own interests are not immediately involved."[26] For the magazine's justification of the war, the preservation of peace-time domestic democracy was a sine qua non.

Equally important, that belief derived from the lessons of World War I. "We learned in the [last war] years how an anti-democratic minority can exploit such an atmosphere for its own purposes."[27] Thereafter, the magazine would repeatedly discuss civil rights issues in comparison with the terrible experience during and in the aftermath of the first world war, in which the whole nation systematically violated the civil rights of thousands of German-Americans, socialists, radicals, war dissenters, and others.[28] Frequent recollections and references of World War I and the Red Scare indicate the New Republic's adamant determination not to repeat the same tragedy.

In regard with Japan, the magazine was consistent, beginning in May, in editorializing against an appeasement. "The Week" of May 12 labeled Japan "an out-and-out Axis member who hates us"[29] and the editorial of June 9 said that "to appease Japan is to betray the deepest meaning of democratic defense."[30] Three months later, the magazine's editorial even declared that, "for the sake of our country and the future of the world," anti-Axis powers should present "a joint ultimatum to Japan" to tell her to leave the Axis immediately and give up her aggressive ambition over Asia.[31]

But this severe campaign against Japan did not result in outright discriminatory language that, for example, overemphasized physical traits, cruelty, or any negative aspects of Japan and the Japanese race. That its editorial at least once used the phrase "yellow men"[32] is far less sufficient to conclude that the magazine had shown its anti-Japanese animosity on a racial basis like the general public and many other news media on the West Coast did. The liberal weekly rather regarded Hitler as more abhorring threat.

Even while the magazine was becoming increasingly tougher against the Axis nations as the war neared, it did not forget about the importance to maintain domestic civil liberties. The issue of November 17 editorialized that "American progressives" need to make best efforts so that "another tragic folly like that of 1919" would not occur.[33]

From mid-1941, the New Republic intensified its anti-Japan attitude and more eagerly campaigned for taking strict actions against her. But the magazine, not racially hostile in its tone, called for the continuation of calmness in domestic civil liberties. As one of the major liberal journals of the nation, the New Republic was firm in its belief that a wartime government which would fight against the undemocratic Axis nations must not curtail domestic democracy like it did during World War I. Although it did not particularly mention the treatment of the "enemy aliens," the magazine had indeed been conscious of the issue of wartime civil liberties prior to Pearl Harbor.

Period Two: From December 1941 to February 1942

As America declared the war, the magazine expectedly welcomed it as a democracy's counterattack toward dictatorship and continued its campaign for the preservation of domestic democracy. The first three issues after Pearl Harbor strongly represented such editorial stance.

Supporting "the strict preservation of civil liberties," an editorial of December 15 confidently read: "Our national unity is such that we have nothing to fear from dissenting minorities. Those who plan or execute sabotage or treason must of course be thwarted. Spies and foreign agents must be discovered and confined. But freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly and of petition, together with all other civil rights, are essential for criticism of the prosecution of the war and for discussion of its aims. They are the essence of what we are fighting for."[34]

"The Week" of the same issue specifically mentioned the Japanese in the nation and called for fair and descent treatment of them. "If Americans are as sane as there is ground for believing they are, they will not persecute or harass the Japanese in the United States. As we all know, many Japanese have lived long and usefully in this country and in all senses are entitled to protection and respect. ... We can get along better without the hysteria of 1917."[35]

These statements are considerably noteworthy because the weekly was so quick in editorializing for the defense of civil liberties and, moreover, it even cared of the plight of the Japanese in particular. These statements also confirm that the magazine was trying to apply the terrible lessons of World War I to the present war. However, the magazine at the same time presented a very meaningful implication: "The government authorities can be trusted to deal with *Japanese who do not fall into that category*. [emphasis added]"[36]

The magazine made this implication clearer in the next issue. "The Week" column of December 22 entitled "Enemy Aliens" read: "Any enemy alien deemed dangerous to the public safety may be summarily arrested .... There are a number of aliens in this country who certainly have no democratic sympathies."[37] This idea was based upon a belief that a strong national solidarity was indispensable for the victory of democracy. An editorial in the same issue said that "much of our new-found unity is indeed genuine" and "it is the most precious possession a nation can have."[38] The New Republic's stance to find the paramount value in the national unity paralleled with its determined trust in the democratic purpose of the war. For example, the editorial of December 29 proclaimed that "we must never compromise the [equalitarian and libertarian] principles for which we fight."[39]

As soon as the war broke, the New Republic did show its liberal sensitivity to civil liberties. It not only appealed fair treatment of "enemy aliens" in general but also demanded calmness in treating the Japanese in particular. At the same time, however, the weekly subordinated its civil libertarian sensitivity to the whole nation's united and successful warfare against the Axis nations in defense of democracy. From the magazine's viewpoint, any people living in America who lacked "democratic sympathies," who were "deemed dangerous to the public safety," who might weaken the "public safety" and "national unity," or who act "on a belief in the victory of the Axis"[40] must be treated as such. Thus, the magazine's defense of civil liberties was applied only within such conditional "national unity" or "public safety" framework, although no clear definition was presented as to who "do not fall into that category." After the issue of December 29, the magazine ceased to comment on the subject for more than three months.

Period Three: From March 1942 to the end of 1943

A month after the authorization of Executive Order 9066, on March 18, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9102 to establish the War Relocation Authority (WRA), a civilian agency in charge of the task to exclude and intern the Japanese and operate camp facilities. By the end of the month implementation of the program began and all persons of Japanese descent were forced to leave the West Coast by August. The magazine showed keen interests in these developments.

The March 2, 1942 issue carried an article by Carey McWilliams.[41] McWilliams critically introduced the increasing public resentment and antagonism toward the Japanese and wrote: "Unfortunately, this agitation has taken form in a dangerous concrete proposal that all Japanese resident in California be evacuated from the state and interned for the duration of the war."[42] Warning that the hysteric public movement "for the wholesale evacuation" was developing extensively and such a reckless action without martial law would pause "a legal issue," he recommended to establish a congressional committee to investigate the situation without political or economical interests and "to follow the lead of Attorney General Francis Biddle, who has acted with conspicuous fairness and good sense under very trying circumstances."[43]

The magazine continued to call for the public calmness and fair judgment by delivering an article of Richard Lee Strout in the issue of March 16. Strout called the situation on the West Coast as "highly inflammable."[44] At this point, however, the presidential order had been already issued, and Strout mildly acknowledged the decision by saying that the government "wisely" handled the matter by setting up military zones and avoiding stricter actions.[45] Quite notably, this positive evaluation seemed to have its root in an optimistic assessment of the present condition of domestic civil liberties in comparison with the terrible war hysteria during World War I. "Whatever may be said about present dangers to civil liberties," wrote Strout, "one glance at what happened in the

First World War shows things to be infinitely better today."[46] He attributed the ground for that judgment to the reduced number of wartime prosecutions. "This matter of 'prosecution for opinion' is of primary importance. It makes the chief legal difference from the First World War as it affects civil liberties."[47] Behind this thinking, there was a confidence that the American society had grown much matured since the last war. "Few Americans today believe that sending hundreds of unimportant people to jail helped win the last war."[48] A pitfall of this logic, however, was that the mass exclusion program which did not take a form of legal prosecution tended to be understood as a tragic but exceptional wartime incident in the overall favorable climate of domestic democracy.[49] Or, placed in generally favorable picture of the home front, the impact of the mass exclusion could have be diminished, as it can be observed in Strout's conclusion: "Selfish and demagogic pressure is probably mingled with the real military concern over the situation. But thus far civil rights have been preserved. The test will be in the degree to which the economic interests of the erstwhile industrious Japanese farmers are protected."[50] The magazine's editorials and articles hereafter basically approved the exclusion and internment program in principle, although it called for some practical constraints about the program's modus operandi.

The issue of April 6 for the first time suggested the magazine's own thinking about the exclusion and internment: The "enemy" can be removed but the "loyal" must be protected. "The Week" said: "The work of sifting out the Japanese loyal to the enemy, already in progress, should be speeded up."[51] Carey McWilliams' article published in the same issue went along with it. He argued it was obvious that interning *all* Japanese Americans en masse was discrimination "solely on the basis of race."[52] "Somehow the feeling exists ... that it is impossible to distinguish between loyal and disloyal Japanese (citizens and aliens alike), but that it is quite possible to make such distinction" as it was actually done to German and Italian aliens.[53] At this point, McWilliams did not question the fundamental legitimacy of the presidential and other military orders. Instead, he thought the most important question was "the formulation of a policy on 'enemy aliens' consistent with our war aims,"[54] meaning their exclusion had to be done in a democratic way. And he asserted it could be achieved best by selecting the disloyal Japanese "on an individual basis."[55]

The editorial of June 15 followed the same direction. Reviewing the domestic civil rights condition for six months after Pearl Harbor, the magazine positively evaluated that the nation was waging a total war without destroying its own democracy. It said: "The area in which the record of the government is worst is that of the treatment of Japanese 'enemy aliens' who have been ...

transferred to concentration camps without any attempt to select the loyal from the dangerous."[56]

Thus, criticism of the magazine and its writers during 1942 focused chiefly upon one operational aspect of the mass exclusion and internment; namely, the "loyal" and "disloyal" must be distinguished. Except for this conditional demand, however, their criticism fell short of crusading the possibilities of fundamental illegitimacy inherent in the government's treatment of the Japanese, such as the deep-rooted racial prejudice, genuine military necessity, continuous restriction of internees' civil liberties, and other legal invalidity. For more than one year after the June 15 editorial, editorial criticism of the New Republic kept being centered around the separation of the "loyal" and "disloyal," although the magazine did not present a concrete idea how it ought to be done.[57]

The frequent references of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) was also one of the characteristics of the magazine's civil rights coverage during the war. Starting from Period Three, the New Republic frequently commented on civil liberties issues (including the Japanese internment) by citing the ACLU's annual reports, survey results, and statements of its members.[58] While noting that "feeling against the Japanese ran high on the West Coast," for example, the editorial of June 22, 1942 reiterated its optimistic judgment of the overall picture of wartime civil liberties and quoted the following ACLU correspondent's report: "It's so peaceful. Perhaps we have come of age!"[59] A month later, "The Week" cited the ACLU's annual report and anticipated that "considering the fact that the opposition to the war is so slight, and the administration so liberally inclined, it seems unlikely" that the administration's civil rights policy would be like that of during World War I.[60]

It is true that the ACLU and New Republic similarly viewed the present state of civil liberties favorably in contrast with the last war.[61] But the ACLU's stance to the Japanese exclusion and internment was not that similar with the magazine's. Although the ACLU conceded that the government had the right to establish military zones and to exclude persons from such zones, the qualifying conditions the ACLU demanded for its justification were much more demanding than the magazine's plea for the separation of the "loyal" and "disloyal." The ACLU acknowledged the government to take the program into effect only when it was "directly necessary" to prosecute the war or to defend national security. Furthermore, the ACLU rejected the non-selective mass exclusion, prolonged internment after exclusion, and "all unreasonable applications of what was conceded to be an underlying constitutional right."[62] As a result of these strict constraints, the

ACLU's 1942-43 annual report even declared that the ACLU supported "[n]othing that has been done" under the ongoing presidential order.[63] And more significantly, while both the ACLU and New Republic similarly sought to improve the plight of the interned Japanese at the practical and operational level, the ACLU alone was aware of the need to check the fundamental legitimacy of the internment program itself and felt it "an obvious obligation" to assert constitutional rights of the internees.[64]

The New Republic which did not straightforwardly reject the internment program per se was overall supportive to the WRA's policy. Its assessment of the WRA initially appeared in "The Week" of August 10, 1942. Declaring that "that is not to overlook the tragedy," the liberal weekly affirmed the WRA's proposal to organize self-supporting communities and let "those who pledge loyalty" to be paid for their work outside.[65] This "resettlement" policy apparently matched with the magazine's appeal to distinguish between the "loyal" and "disloyal." The weekly endorsed the WRA's partial liberation of the "loyal" internees from an economical reason as well. Because utilizing their working skill could contribute greatly to the nation, the ongoing WRA policy "may turn out to be a constructive and nationally useful project."[66] Further, the magazine even regarded the mass internment as a unique opportunity both for the internees and the nation to demonstrate the principle of American democracy. "A demonstration by these people, under the toughest possible conditions, of the validity of democratic principles, would be an even finer contribution to the national welfare. Both the WRA and the Nisei will deserve thanks if the project succeeds on these terms."[67]

From the start, the WRA wanted to minimize the number of interned population in camps as early as possible. Beginning in mid-1942, the WRA gradually allowed internees to seek temporary or permanent leave from camps. This resettlement policy accelerated in 1943 and the magazine continued to back up the movement. But it is likely that such WRA's "democratic" policy[68] diverted the attention of the New Republic from the question of the internment's fundamental legitimacy to its practical and realistic aspects, as it is said to have happened to other minority groups and civil rights organizations.[69] Hence, rather than opposing the internment itself, the magazine supported the WRA and became more interested in how to make the present circumstances better for the Japanese and the nation.

The editorial of January 11, 1943 provides another evidence for the magazine's attachment to the WRA. It said that "their tragedies are chiefly spiritual, since the government seems to be providing for their physical needs."[70] It continued: "They are even permitted to leave the Center, if they can find jobs and living quarters anywhere except on the West Coast."[71] Introducing some hysterical anti-Japanese terrors outside the camps, the magazine added one more justification for the internment: "The evacues are living in what amounts to protective custody."[72] The editorial of July 19, 1943 again endorsed the WRA's policy, this time mainly from a perspective of economical benefits. "We should accelerate the WRA program of resettling loyal persons of Japanese origin, and demand that this country make full use of their extraordinary productivity in agriculture and their proved skills in industry and in the learned professions."[73] The magazine said again that this was a unique chance to demonstrate an American democracy. "Let this minority know that its faith in American democracy has not been in vain."[74]

Although the liberal journal thus virtually accepted the internment in principle, the New Republic did not ignore the voices of the interned Japanese. In the issue of June 15, 1942, the magazine for the first time published an internee's complaint. In his article entitled "Concentration Camp: U.S. Style," Ted Nakashima vividly depicted how terrible their lives in camps were and appealed as follows: "The resettlement center is actually a penitentiary .... I can't take it! ... What really hurts most is the constant reference to us evacues as 'Japs.' 'Japs' are the guys we are fighting. We're on this side and we want to help. Why won't America let us?"[75] The issue of February 1, 1943 published an article by Isamu Noguchi, who complained that "the solution of the problem is, in short, to return the evacues to their normal civilian status both by getting them out of the centers and by making the centers themselves as much like other places in America as possible."[76]

The magazine not only gave the Japanese chances to speak but also by itself responded to their appeals. By the request of the army, the New Republic dispatched an investigator to check the negative camp conditions as Nakashima described. Consequently, the editorial of January 18, 1943 reported that the curfew was reasonable, that food conditions had improved, and that some of his criticisms were "exaggerated" and other negative conditions were soon ameliorated.[77]

Since the magazine did not explain the details of the investigation's procedures, the great difficulty remains for researchers today to judge which side was closer to the reality.[78] But the report is still meaningful for the present study because it once again exposed the magazine's affirmative stance to the WRA's policy and its approval of the internment per se. The report concluded: "While the problem of what to do about the Japanese American in the long run remain unsolved, the army's part in setting up and maintaining proper conditions in the camps has been carried out satisfactorily."[79]

What made the report even more meaningful for this research is a bitter argument it caused later. The culprit was the report's last sentence which read: "Certainly there can be no doubt that our treatment of persons of the Japanese race has been infinitely better than has been the case with Americans who have been captured or interned by the Japanese."[80]

"The Week" of April 12 disclosed that the magazine received passionate reader responses. One of those complained: "A large population of all the interned persons are American citizens, born in this country, and the overwhelming majority of them just as loyal to the United States as any other citizen. ... [I]n this country we should treat everyone, whether citizen or alien, by the standards of our own conscience."[81] Admitting correspondences such as above were "of course true," the magazine wrote that "we regret that a condensed form of writing gave an impression that The New Republic did not mean to convey."[82] Then the magazine tried to make its meaning clearer as follows:

> We have from the beginning urged that a real effort should be made to separate loyal from disloyal persons among the internees and that the loyal ones should then be allowed, and aided, to resume their normal life; and we welcome the fact that government policy is now moving in that direction.
>
> As for our reference to the treatment of Americans in Japan, there was a specific reason for it. The Japanese government has threatened exactly equal reprisals against Americans if any Japanese in this country is mistreated, and The New Republic did not and does not wish to contribute by inadvertence to any additional hardships inflicted upon our citizens who are in the hands of the enemy.[83]

In the passage cited above, what this study focuses upon is not how the magazine tried to rationalize its earlier statement but that in the first paragraph the New Republic one more time summarized its essential stance to the internment and the WRA's policy.

The analysis of Period Three so far found that, on the ground of an optimistic evaluation of the overall condition of domestic civil liberties in comparison with the last world war, and with its trust in the relatively liberal administration and WRA, the magazine virtually acknowledged the legitimacy of the internment itself except for claiming the need to separate the "loyal" and "disloyal." The weekly's liberal mind was fairly evident in its earlier rejection of the "wholesale evacuation" based upon wartime hysteria, its encouragement of the WRA's "democratic" resettlement policy, and in its publication of the internees' voices. Mainly from a practical and operational perspective, the New Republic indeed sought the way to make the existing internment program as beneficial as possible both for the internees and the nation. And by dosing so, the magazine thought, the nation could demonstrate the faith of democracy. However, its stance was not as critical, for example like the ACLU, as to raise fundamental questions about the very righteousness or legitimacy of the exclusion and internment per se.

Period Four: The Year of 1944

During 1944, the WRA continued to encourage the interned Japanese to step out of camps and resettle. On June 30, Jerome Relocation Center in Arkansas became the first of the internment camps to close. Despite the fact that the local public in general reacted negatively or even violently against the returning and resettling Japanese, the government on December 17 announced to lift the military regulations and terminate the internment. During this year, the New Republic actively coordinated an interactive debate among readers in its "Correspondence" section. The magazine also published a series "Racism on the West Coast" by Carey McWilliams. Since the magazine presented no formal editorial on the Japanese issue in this time frame, this study will attempt to infer the magazine's editorial stance from those letters and articles.

The series of exchanges of opinions started with the letter from Teiko Ishida of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). The JACL was established by a group of Nisei in Seattle in 1930,[84] mostly representing the minority faction of the middle-class educated Nisei. But due to the American entry to the war and subsequent arrests of many Issei leaders, the "inexperienced and naive" JACL leaders unexpectedly took the mantle of leadership of the Japanese community.[85] Facing to the fierce anti-Japanese public sentiment and increasing probability of mass exclusion, the JACL leadership chose to demonstrate their loyalty and patriotism[86] by cooperating with the administration.[87] This cooperative stance, however, created opposition among other Japanese and during the internment years the JACL could not integrate the Japanese community into a firm unity.[88] Yet it was the other side of the reality that the JACL was the only major Japanese organization which enjoyed the social acknowledgment.

Ishida's letter, published in the "Correspondence" section of the March 6 issue, hailed the recent resumption of selective service procedures for the interned Japanese, saying they "will be subject to call for military duty on the same basis as other citizens" and it will be a chance to vindicate their "loyalty."[89] Then the letter mildly pointed out the further need to restore their civil rights: "This is a realization of one of the major aims of the [JACL] and heartens us in our efforts eventually to secure complete restoration of our civil rights."[90]

Ishida's letter induced a critical response from Kazuyuki Takahashi, which the magazine published in the March 20 issue. Takahashi agreed with Ishida's discussion in part that reinstitution of the selective service was "a welcome one in that it is a step toward the restoration of full citizenship rights to this minority."[91] But he complained that "merely to reinstate Selective Service ... does not restore to them the right to serve *on the same basis as other Americans*."[92] His letter at its end implied many others like him disagreed with the policy of the JACL.

Roger Baldwin, the director of the ACLU who worked closely with the JACL, answered to Takahashi's criticism in the April 24 issue. His correspondence read: "[Takahashi] rather minimizes the fact that reopening the draft to Nisei gave them a deserved recognition long denied."[93] He remarked that the Japanese were not treated equally with white people but at least equally with "Negroes and other Orientals" who were also segregated.

The series of exchanges ended with the second letter from Takahashi printed in the August 14 issue. Takahashi said he did not mean to minimize the progress of draft restoration; however, it should come with the "simultaneous restoration" of other rights.[94] The segregation in the draft was "a relatively unimportant one of the several factors which make the Nisei feel that they are not 'full citizens' ...."[95] He admitted that the JACL had done "highly commendable work," but he and some other Nisei felt the JACL was not "vigorous enough in all of its attempts to secure full citizenship rights for the Japanese Americans."[96]

Although the magazine itself did not editorially respond to this argument, that the magazine volunteered its "Correspondence" section as a public stage for such interactive discussion symbolizes its belonging to the most liberal faction in American journalism. Moreover, participants of the discussion widened their dialogue beyond the framework of the magazine's previous internment coverage by raising an issue of full restoration of the internees' restricted civil rights. This can be interpreted that the weekly started to look the internment a bit differently than before, especially considering what the magazine did next.

On May 29, the magazine began publishing Carey McWilliams' "Racism on the West Coast" series. McWilliams warned that during 1943 the West Coast saw the re-development of the extraordinary outburst of racial discrimination against the people of Japanese descent, which seemed to have seethed temporarily during 1942.[97] Listing the names of major anti-Japanese leaders and organizations, McWilliams harshly criticized that their demands for the total expulsion of the Japanese were simply motivated by racial discrimination: "If these groups had really been concerned with the 'security' of the area, mass evacuation would have satisfied their demands. But so-called 'security' considerations had little to do with the organized pressure for mass evacuation."[98]

His second article in the June 12 issue made McWilliams' standpoint on the ongoing internment clear by calling for a lift of the presidential order. McWilliams did not mention his previous claim for separating the "loyal" and "disloyal" any longer. Instead, he argued that the current situation would not justify the "military security" rationale anymore.

> The military situation in the Pacific has changed since mass evacuation was ordered. ... Hawaii has been converted into one of the great fortresses of the world ...; the Japanese are on the defensive throughout the Pacific. Various emergency measures adopted after Pearl Harbor have been relaxed on the West Coast and the general situation has so changed in our favor as to warrant the military in lifting the ban against the return of the evacuees.[99]

McWilliams was the foremost liberal critic of the Japanese problem during the war years, and having him write a two-part series on the topic demonstrates that the New Republic gave a considerably high credit to his ideas. If so, publication of the series can be interpreted that the magazine had come to suspect the military necessity justification and to observe a racial nature in the further continuation of the ongoing internment.[100] But it should be also be noted that McWilliams' criticism still stayed within the framework in which the termination of internment was demanded mainly due to its unnecessity and uselessness at that point rather than a fundamental criticism to the illegitimacy embedded in the internment itself since it started.

During 1944, the weekly amply displayed its liberal sensitivity by coordinating opinion exchanges between readers and by delivering a series of Carey McWilliams. These criticized racial prejudice, claimed for the ending of the internment, and awakened the need for further restoration of the internees' restricted civil rights. But even those liberal discussions did not reach to be a fundamental criticism of the exclusion and internment.

Period Five: The Year of 1945

On December 18, 1944, the Supreme Court issued a couple of important decisions. In the first case (Toyosaburo Korematsu v. United States), the Court by 6-3 decided that the presidential executive and military orders were an appropriate prevention of "the twin danger of espionage and sabotage"[101] "under circumstances of direst [sic] emergency and peril."[102] The majority opinion written by Justice Hugo Black was accompanied with three dissenting opinions. The most strongest dissenter in its tone was Justice Frank Murphy who called the Japanese exclusion and internment "an obvious racial discrimination"[103] and therefore unconstitutional. The other decision (Ex parte Mitsuye Endo) was unanimous represented by Justice William Douglas. The Court ruled that the internment had to be strictly limited to its essential purpose of prevention of espionage and sabotage and therefore it was beyond the scope of any authority to intern "concededly loyal" citizens who would present no problem of espionage or sabotage.[104] One day earlier than the Court's decisions, the War Department finally announced to rescind the military regulations which forced the Japanese out from the West Coast, taking into effect on January 2, 1945.[105] The New Republic had enough reason to get interested in these developments. At least, the Court's decision to invalidate the internment of the allegedly "loyal" Japanese and the actual termination of internment corresponded with what the magazine and its writers had been claiming since the earlier periods.

"The Week" of January 15 very slightly reflected its welcoming attitude. The column reported that the nation in 1944 again recorded a great progress in maintaining the domestic civil rights, making a sharp contrast with World War I.[106] Citing the statement of the ACLU's Roger Baldwin, the magazine listed the WRA's decision to return the "loyal" Japanese to the West Coast military area as one of "the significant gains."[107] At this point, however, the New Republic's position still remained to be much less critical than the ACLU. For instance, the ACLU was opposing the Court decisions of the Korematsu and Endo cases which sustained the military power to exclude the Japanese except for the "concededly loyal" ones as "deplorable in establishing a precedent of constitutional racial discrimination."[108] The ACLU also suspected the camp authority's system of determining "disloyalty."[109] The New Republic mentioned neither of these[110] and did not discuss the Japanese problem itself until June 1945.

The issue of June 25 delivered an article by Dillon S. Myer, who had been directing the WRA since June 1942. In the article, he announced that the WRA was currently in the immediate process to close itself.[111] Myer's passage was full of regret. "Our experience in the WRA has made it clear that camps are only a stop-gap solution ...."[112] According to him, the internment neither did good to the nation nor to the interned Japanese. "Our experience has shown us that living in camps, cut off from the main currents of American life, does things to people. It saps the initiative, weakens the instincts of human dignity and freedom, creates doubts, misgivings and tensions. Even more important, the mere act of putting people in camps and *keeping* them there establishes precedents which are not healthy or hopeful for a democratic nation."[113] Meyer did not refer to the separation of the "loyal" and "disloyal" or any other kind of rationale for internment any more. Rather, he did not find any reason to continue the program under any circumstances. What must not be unnoticed, however, is that Myer proclaimed the internment was so deplorable that the nation should delete it from its memory as soon as possible. "We have come to a deep-rooted conclusion that the sooner they are liquidated and forgotten, the better it will be for everyone concerned."[114]

Remembering that the magazine was consistently supporting the "democratic" WRA policy from the earlier periods, it would not be incorrect to assume the publication of Myer's article also meant that the New Republic was affirmative about the WRA's self-closing and Myer's explanations for it. Thinking so, the magazine at this point must have regarded the internment as a mistake, too; however, like all the other articles and editorials the magazine published earlier, the WRA director's regret was not based upon a critical reappraisal of the internment's fundamental legitimacy.

The closing of the WRA automatically brought the Japanese to another stage of problem to leave camps, resettle and assimilate into the outside society, and resume their previous life. The New Republic discussed this problem in the July 9 article of Wallace Stegner.[115] Stegner deplored that "the alliance of politicians, press and growers, whose interests coalesce without friction" were agitating and manufacturing the anti-Japanese sentiment. But his overall tone was hopeful and encouraging, saying such racist force "is far from unanimous" and most people in California were "only half listening" such "strategically entrenched and economically or politically interested group making a loud noise with its mouth."[116] In this context, Stegner was taking a stance to stress the positive aspect and to hope resettlement could become, as one WRA official stated, a "partial attempt to repair the serious damage" caused by the internment.[117] Stegner wrote: "Nobody has actually been hurt, and it seems fairly clear that as long as the WRA is firm in insisting on justice, the Nisei will continue to return."[118] As a result of highlighting resettlement's hopeful potentiality, however, the article fell short of disclosing the reality of the more problematic and complicated plight of the returning internees[119] and "irony, inconsistency, and blind spots" of WRA's resettlement policy.[120] The New Republic neither editorialized nor printed any article on the

Japanese issue for the rest of the year.

By bringing Myer's and Stegner's articles, the magazine during 1945 showed a cooperative attitude with the WRA's efforts to encourage the interned Japanese to restore their previous life as early and smoothly as possible. Considering that in many places a great number of returning and resettling Japanese received cruel treatment from the local residents and press, this eagerness to contribute to the interests of the Japanese at the practical, realistic level must have been remarkably precious and helpful. In this sense, the magazine indeed was functioning uniquely as a representative of the foremost liberal faction of American journalism. On the other hand, however, as a result of believing that the speedy and peaceful settlement of the entire problem would benefit the Japanese and embody a democratic principle of the nation, the magazine's and its contributors' liberal attention did not reach to the substantial problems of the mass internment and the subsequent resettlement program. And this was the limitation with which the New Republic's Japanese coverage continued accompanying all through the internment years.

IV. Conclusion

The analysis of the New Republic's Japanese exclusion and internment coverage from 1941 to 1945 found that its assessment must balance both its liberal characteristics and limitations.

The liberal stance of the magazine was evident since the pre-Pearl Harbor months of 1941. Several months earlier than the nation entered the war, while opposing the appeasement of Japan and supporting hawkish diplomacy against the Axis nations, the magazine that was keenly conscious of the terrible memory of World War I and the Red Scare did appeal the significance of maintaining domestic civil liberties in wartime. After the Pearl Harbor attack, the weekly's liberal conception that the nation should reconcile the total war and domestic democracy became more confident. Immediately after the war declaration, the magazine claimed to defend all kinds of civil rights and specifically called for fair treatment of the Japanese in the nation. Besides this liberal sensitivity, however, the magazine also approved the government to treat "any enemy alien deemed dangerous to the public safety" or those "who do not fall into that category" as such. What existed behind this logic was the magazine's firm conviction that anyone in the nation must not interrupt the nation's unified war effort because the nation was fighting for democracy against totalitarianism. From the early stage of the war, the magazine's civil rights defense was within the scope of this conditional "national unity" or "public safety" framework, although the magazine did not define it very clearly.

In the early 1942, the magazine became anxious about the soaring anti-Japanese resentment in the public and warned it must not inspire "the wholesale evacuation." But as the presidential order was issued and exclusion program began, in the overall positive climate of domestic civil liberties which made a sharp contrast with the last war, and with its confidence to the relatively liberal administration and the WRA, the magazine virtually accepted the exclusion and internment in principle except for calling for the separate treatment of the "loyal" and "disloyal." Moreover, the magazine in some occasions viewed the internment as a unique chance to demonstrate the nation's democratic faith. On the other hand, the magazine did recognize the internment as one of the most serious domestic problems and showed its liberal sensitivity by, for example, publishing the voices of internees. Still the scope of its coverage did not go beyond the practical and operational level and, compared with the ACLU for example, its coverage fell short of asking fundamental questions about the righteousness of the internment itself.

. The magazine in 1944 showed some signs of changes. The magazine volunteered its "Correspondence" section for open debate forum and the discussion in it slightly went beyond the framework of the magazine's previous coverage by awakening the need for extended restoration of the internees' civil rights. The magazine also published the "Racism on the West Coast" series, in which Carey McWilliams revoked the "military security" rationalization and demanded immediate ending of the internment. But even after the military regulations were actually rescinded and three Supreme Court justices dissented against its constitutionality, the articles the magazine printed did not shed light on the possibility of fundamental illegitimacy of the internment.

Summing up, as one of the foremost liberal and pro-minority media of the nation, the New Republic clearly differentiated itself from the mainstream media and general public in several aspects. All through the war years, the magazine did not portray Japan and the Japanese race with such racially negative language as "rats" and "monkey faces" while these terminologies were "particularly popular with the American people" and media then.[121] Being aware of the lessons of World War I and the Red Scare, it also kept paying critical attention to the preservation of civil rights and kept regarding the mass internment as one of the most serious domestic problems. The magazine volunteered its pages for the internees and other concerned people to speak and exchange opinions. For the interests of the Japanese and for the realization of democratic principle in the home front, the magazine and its writers supported the WRA, criticized the activities of anti-

Japanese persons and groups, and encouraged the interned Japanese to resume their previous life.

But the magazine's Japanese coverage had limitations, too. From its start to the end, presumably due to the combination of various factors such as strong hostility to Japan's aggression over Asia and her alliance with Nazis Germany, somewhat overemphasized fear of espionage, sabotage, or invasion by Japan, firm trust in the war's democratic cause and significance of national solidarity for victory, progress in civil rights preservation in general as compared with the last world war, attachment to the liberal administration and "democratic" WRA policy, adoption of the "protective custody" rationale, limitations of its writers and other liberals,[122] or other wartime complexities, the New Republic accepted selective restriction of wartime civil liberties and failed to discuss the possibilities of the fundamental illegitimacy inherent in the internment per se, such as the deep-rooted racial prejudice, genuine military necessity, continuous restriction of internees' civil liberties, and other legal invalidity. Additionally, and this could have interrelated to the limitations above, the present research found that the magazine's internment coverage totally lacked the historical understanding of the almost half-century-long anti-Oriental tradition on the West Coast, without which, as researchers point out, "none of the wartime acts of discrimination and expulsion are explained ...."[123] That even this weekly, which represented the most progressive, liberal, and liberty-attentive segment of the American press and society, had such limitations gives a valuable insight to figure out the outer boundary of the wartime marketplace of ideas in America concerning the Japanese internment issue.

Notes:

1. This article owes a great deal to the JSPS Research Fellowships for Young Scientists. Without the financial support from the JSPS, this author could not have had a chance to conduct the present research.

2. If not specifically mentioned, the use of word "Japanese" in this research hereafter means "all people of Japanese ancestry living in America regardless of their classification." In some occasions, this study will specifically refer to "Issei" or "Nisei." The Issei denotes the first generation without citizenship who were born in Japan and came to America as immigrants around the turn of the century. The Nisei means second generation who were American born citizens. [Russell Bearden, "The False Rumor of Tuesday: Arkansas's Internment of Japanese-Americans," Arkansas Historical Quarterly Vol.41, No.4 (Winter 1982): 169n.]

3. This study does not ignore the discussions about the use of words and phrases to describe the Japanese problem. But to avoid unnecessary confusions and criticism by the inconsistent use of terminologies, the present study chooses to use "exclusion," "internment," "internment camps," "internees," for what the government at the time referred euphemistically as "evacuation," "relocation," "relocation camps," "evacuees" respectively. For further discussions about definitions of words and euphemism, see, Sandra C. Taylor, "Leaving the Concentration Camps: Japanese American Resettlement in Utah and the Intermountain West," Pacific Historical Review Vol.60, No.2 (May 1991): 170n, 174n; Bill Hosokawa, Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: William Morrow, 1969), 348; Raymond Y. Okamura, "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology," Journal of Ethnic Studies Vol.10, No.3 (Fall 1982): 95-109.

4. The "civil rights" or "civil liberties" in this study mainly denote the rights to move about freely, to live and work where one likes, and to establish and maintain a home and family where they choose, which cannot be deprived of except on an individual basis and only after satisfactory notice, hearing, fair trial, and due process of law. But this study does not ignore that the exclusion and internment of the Japanese broadly involved other various rights such as to assemble peaceably, to speak, publish, read, learn and hear freely, and so on. [Jacobus tenBroek, et al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution 3rd ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1968), 325; Arval A. Morris, "Justice, War, and the Japanese-American Evacuation and Internment: Book Review of JUSTICE AT WAR: THE STORY OF THE JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT CASES," Washington Law Review Vol.59, No.4 (September 1984): 844-5.]

5. The rethinking of the internment progressed considerably at the grass root level since the 1960s and at the federal level since the early 1980s. Following the formal apology and lifting of Executive Order 9066 by President Gerald Ford in February 1976, the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians was established by act of Congress in 1980. The Commission completed its final report Personal Justice Denied in 1982, and the report urged Congress and the president to launch the compensation program. Saying that "race prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership" shaped the presidential exclusion order and other military orders, the report concluded that "[a] grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry who, without individual review or any probative evidence against them, were excluded, removed, and detained by the United States during World War II." [The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (Washington, D.C., 1982), 18.] Several bills, which were based upon the Commission's suggestions, were introduced in the House and Senate, and these led to passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 under President Ronald Reagan. For the resurrection of the internment, see, Don T.

Nakanishi, "Surviving Democracy's 'Mistake': Japanese Americans & the Enduring Legacy of Executive Order 9066," Amerasia Journal Vol.19, No.1 (1993): 7-35.

6. Margaret A. Blanchard, Revolutionary Sparks: Freedom of Expression in Modern America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 192.

7. Very briefly summarizing, previous studies cover the following research topics: The press-FDR relationship in the starting years of the war [Richard W. Steele, "The Great Debate: Roosevelt, the Media and the Coming of the War, 1940-1941," Journal of American History Vol.71, No.1 (June 1984): 69-92.], underlying anti-Japanese mentality of the public and press since the pre-war period [John A. Gothberg, "Press Reaction to Japanese Land Ownership in California," Journalism Quarterly Vol.47, No.3 (Winter 1970): 667-72, 724; Thomas H. Heuterman, "'We Have the Same Rights as Other Citizens': Coverage of Yakima Valley Japanese Americans in the 'Missing Decades' of the 1920s and 1930s," Journalism History Vol.14, No.4 (Winter 1987): 94-103.] and Japanese media's reaction to it [Yuji Ichioka, "A Study in Dualism: James Yoshinori Sakamoto and the *Japanese American Courier*, 1928-1942," Amerasia Journal Vol.13, No.2 (1986-87): 49-81; Kaori Hayashi, History of *The Rafu Shimpo*: Evolution of a Japanese-American Newspaper, 1903-1942 M.A. thesis submitted to California State University, Northridge, 1990; David Yoo, "'Read All About It': Race, Generation and the Japanese American Ethnic Press, 1925-41," Amerasia Journal Vol.19, No.1 (1993): 69-92.], Afro-American press' and people's attitudes to the Japanese before the war [Arnold Shankman, "'Asiatic Ogre' or 'Desirable Citizen'?: The Image of Japanese Americans in the Afro-American Press, 1867-1933," Pacific Historical Review Vol.46, No.4 (November 1977): 567-87; David J. Hellwig, "Afro-American Reactions to the Japanese and the Anti-Japanese Movement, 1906-1924," Phylon Vol.38, No.1 (March 1977): 93-104.], local radio stations' emphasis on the national unity and anti-Axis thesis during 1942 [E. Albert Moffett, "Hometown Radio in 1942: The Role of Local Stations During the First Year of Total War," American Journalism Vol.3, No.2 (1986): 87-98.], general description of the internment coverage of the major news media [Ives Neely, "The Press Was an Accessory: Winter of '42," Quill Vol.64, No.4 (April 1976): 19-23; Walt Stromer, "Why I Went Along: 1942 and the Invisible Evacuees," Columbia Journalism Review Vol.31, No.5 (January/February 1983): 15-7.], coverage of the New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, and Arizona Republic (Sharon Bramlett-Solomon and Patricia Mah, "The Press as Accessory: Editorial Treatment of the Japanese-American Internment Issue," unpublished paper submitted to Journalism History in November 1993); coverage of the Denver Post [Bill Hosokawa, Thunder in the Rockies: The Incredible *Denver Post* (New York: William Morrow, 1976), 192-6.], coverage of California newspapers [Morton Grodzins, Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1949), 377-99; Lloyd E. Chiasson, "Japanese-American Relocation During World War II: A Study of California Editorial Reactions," Journalism Quarterly Vol.68, No.1/2 (Spring/Summer 1991): 263-8.], coverage of the West Coast newspapers [Lloyd E. Chiasson, "The Japanese-American Encampment: An Editorial Analysis of 27 West Coast Newspapers," Newspaper Research Journal Vol.12, No.2 (Spring 1991): 92-107.], integrated and comparative analysis of California newspapers and other West Coast newspapers [Lloyd Chiasson Jr., "The Japanese-American Enigma," in Lloyd Chiasson Jr. ed., The Press In Times of Crisis (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 137-52.], the coverage of the San Francisco News (Alma Elizabeth Oberst, The Policy of the San Francisco News on the Evacuation and Relocation of the Japanese During World War II M.A. thesis submitted to the University of California, Berkeley, 1964.), coverage of two Oregon newspapers [Timothy Olmstead, "Nikkei Internment: The Perspective of Two Oregon Weekly Newspapers," Oregon Historical Quarterly Vol.85, No.1 (Spring 1984): 5-32.], mainstream press' dual function as a disseminator of government information and as a reflector of public sentiment [Gary Y. Okihiro and Julie Sly, "The Press, Japanese Americans, and the Concentration Camps," Phylon Vol.44, No.1 (March 1983): 66-83.], standpoint of documentary photographers and photographic magazines [Karin Becker Ohrn, "What You See Is What You Get: Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams at Manzanar," Journalism History Vol.4, No.1 (Spring 1977): 14-22,

32.], media's uses of euphemistic and discriminational terminologies [Raymond Y. Okamura, "The American Concentration Camps: A Cover-Up Through Euphemistic Terminology," Journal of Ethnic Studies Vol.10, No.3 (Fall 1982): 95-109.], and Japanese portrayal in the syndicated Superman comic [Gordon H. Chang, "'Superman is about to visit the relocation centers' and the Limits of Wartime Liberalism," Amerasia Journal Vol.19, No.1 (1993): 37-60.].

8. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied, 9.

9. Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century 2nd ed., (Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 423.

10. James Playsted Wood, Magazines in the United States 3rd ed., (New York: The Ronald Press, 1971), 190-1. Wood even generalized that the New Republic is "more aggressive in its support of minority groups, minority opinion, and advanced thought generally" than the Nation. (Ibid., 193.)

11. Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretative History of the Mass Media 6th ed., (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1988), 303.

12. Hendrik Hertzberg, "Journal of Opinion: An [sic] Historical Sketch," Gannett Center Journal Vol.3, No.2 (Spring 1989): 72.

13. Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, 439-40.

14. David A. Hollinger, "Ethnic Diversity, Cosmopolitanism and the Emergence of the American Liberal Intelligentsia," American Quarterly Vol.27, No.2 (May 1975): 134.

15. Lauren Kessler, The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1984), 143.

16. Hertzberg, "Journal of Opinion," 72.

17. For further discussions about the public sentiment and reaction toward the Japanese before, during, and after the war, see, Fred H. Matthews, "White Community and 'Yellow Peril,'" Mississippi Valley Historical Review Vol.50, No.4 (March 1964): 612-33; Charles Wollenberg, "Ethnic Experiences in California History: An Impressionistic Survey," California Historical Quarterly Vol.50, No.3 (September 1971): 221-33; Francis Feeley, "A Legacy of Injustice: The West Coast Japanese Before World War II," Journal of the West Vol.32, No.4 (October 1993): 83-91; Frank Miyamoto, "The Japanese Minority in the Pacific Northwest," Pacific Northwest Quarterly Vol.54, No.4 (October 1963): 143-9; Susie Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona," Journal of Arizona History Vol.14, No.4 (Winter 1973): 317-34; Jack August, "The Anti-Japanese Crusade in Arizona's Salt River Valley," Arizona and the West Vol.21, No.2 (Summer 1979): 113-36; Laura Maeda, "Life at Minidoka: A Personal History of the Japanese-American Relocation," Pacific Historian Vol.20, No.4 (Winter 1976): 379-87; William Cary Anderson, "Early Reaction in Arkansas to the Relocation of Japanese in the State," Arkansas Historical Quarterly Vol.23, No.3 (Autumn 1964): 195-211; Marvin Gavin Pursinger, "The Japanese Settle in Oregon: 1880-1920," Journal of the West Vol.5, No.2 (April 1966): 251-62; Barbara Yasui, "The Nikkei in Oregon, 1834-1940," Oregon Historical Quarterly Vol.76, No.3 (September 1975): 225-57; Tetsuden Kashima, "Japanese American Internees Return, 1945 to 1955: Readjustment and Social Amnesia," Phylon Vol.41, No.2 (Summer 1980): 107-15; Hiromi Chiba, From Enemy to Ally: American Public Opinion and Perceptions About Japan, 1945-1950 Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Hawaii, 1990.

18. For further discussion about the local state officials' and politicians' sentiments and reactions to the Japanese in America, see, Samuel T. Caruso, "After Pearl Harbor: Arizona's Response to the Gila River Relocation Center," Journal of Arizona History Vol.14, No.4 (Winter 1973): 335-46; C. Calvin Smith, "The Response of Arkansans to Prisoners of War and Japanese Americans in Arkansas 1942-1945," Arkansas Historical Quarterly Vol.53, No.3 (Autumn 1994): 340-66; Robert C. Sims, "'A Fearless, Patriotic, Clean-Cut Stand': Idaho's Governor Clark and Japanese-American Relocation in World War II," Pacific Northwest Quarterly Vol.70, No.2 (April 1979): 75-81; Robert C. Sims, "The Japanese American Experience in Idaho," Idaho Yesterdays Vol.22, No.1 (Spring 1978): 2-10; Bradford Smith, "Education of Earl Warren," Nation 11 October 1958 (Vol.187): 206-8; James J. Rawls, "The Earl Warren Oral History Project: An Appraisal," Pacific Historical Review Vol.56, No.1 (February 1987): 87-97.

19. See, for example, these Supreme Court landmark decisions: Kiyoshi Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81 (1943), Minoru Yasui v. United States, 320 U.S. 115 (1943), Toyosaburo Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944), and Ex parte Mitsuye Endo, 323 U.S. 283 (1944). For further legal discussion about these cases, see, Maurice Alexandre, "Wartime Control of Japanese-Americans I: The Nisei -- A Casualty of World War II," Cornell Law Quarterly Vol.28, No.4 (June 1943): 385-413; Harrop A. Freeman, "Wartime Control of Japanese-Americans II: Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus: Genealogy, Evacuation, and Law," Cornell Law Quarterly Vol.28, No.4 (June 1943): 414-58; Nanette Dembitz, "Racial Discrimination and the Military Judgment: The Supreme court's Korematsu and Endo Decisions," Columbia Law Review Vol.45, No.2 (March 1944): 175-239; Eugene V. Rostow, "The Japanese American Cases -- A Disaster," Yale Law Journal Vol.54, No.3 (June 1945): 489-533; Jacobus tenBroek, et al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution 3rd ed., Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1968; Peter Irons, Justice at War New York: Oxford University Press, 1983; Sidney Fine, "Mr. Justice Murphy and the Hirabayashi Case," Pacific Historical Review Vol.33, No.2 (May 1964): 195-209. For more discussion about the historical analysis of the Court's treatment of the Japanese in America, see, Browning M. Carrott, "Prejudice Goes to Court: The Japanese & the Supreme Court in the 1920s," California History Vol.62, No.2 (Summer 1983): 122-38; Jeff H. Lesser, "Always 'Outsiders': Asians, Naturalization, and the Supreme Court," Amerasia Journal Vol.12, No.1 (1985-86): 83-100.

20. For the discussion of the Afro-American, Jewish groups, civil rights organizations, and other groups, see, Gordon H. Chang, "'Superman is about to visit the relocation centers' and the Limits of Wartime Liberalism," Amerasia Journal Vol.19, No.1 (1993): 37-60; Cheryl Greenberg, "Black and Jewish Responses to Japanese Internment," Journal of American Ethnic History Vol.14, No.2 (Winter 1995): 3-37; Richard Polenberg, "World War II and the Bill of Rights," in Kenneth Paul O'Brien and Lynn Hudson Parsons, eds., The Home-Front War: World War II and American Society (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 11-24.

21. See, for example, Howard A. Droker, "Seattle Race Relations During the Second World War," Pacific Northwest Quarterly Vol.67, No.4 (October 1976): 163-74; Harvey Schwartz, "A Union Combats Racism: The ILWU's Japanese-American 'Stockton Incident' of 1945," Southern California Quarterly Vol.62, No.2 (Summer 1980): 161-76; Sandra C. Taylor, "Leaving the Concentration Camps: Japanese American Resettlement in Utah and the Intermountain West," Pacific Historical Review Vol.60, No.2 (May 1991): 169-94; William C. Beyer, "Creating 'Common Ground' on the Home Front: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in a 1940s Quarterly Magazine," in O'Brien and Parsons, eds., The Home-Front War, 41-61.

22. Frank Luther Mott wrote that the journal's editorials and articles represented "the collective opinion of the editors." (Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines Vol.5, (Sketches of 21 Magazines 1905-1930), (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 201.

23. The presidential executive order was issued on February 19, 1942, and termination of the exclusion and internment program was officially announced on December 17, 1944., taking into effect on January 2, 1945.

24. "Civil Liberties," New Republic 17 February 1941: 248-50; "Our Fight is Not Lost," New Republic 17 February 1941: 250-4. (This article abbreviates the New Republic as "NR" in endnotes hereafter.)

25."Our Fight is Not Lost," 254.

26. "Civil Liberties," 248.

27. Ibid.

28. The earlier editors of the journal had also insisted that the last war be conducted "in a liberal fashion," meaning the decent processes of democracy should not be sacrificed. [Richard Crockatt, "American Liberalism and the Atlantic World, 1916-17," Journal of American Studies Vol.11, No.1 (April 1977): 141.]

29. "The United States as Appeaser," NR 12 May 1941: 648.

30. "Tokyo as Munich," NR 9 June 1941: 781.

31. "For an Ultimatum to Japan," NR 8 September 1941: 295.

32. "Get Tougher with Japan," NR 30 June 1941: 876.

33. "The Home Fires, Too," NR 17 November 1941: 638.

34. "On the Domestic Front," NR 15 December 1941: 812-3.

35. "Japanese in America," NR 15 December 1941: 814.

36. Ibid.

37. "Enemy Aliens," NR 22 December 1941: 844-5.

38. "The Unity Bandwagon," NR 22 December 1941: 847.

39. "New Year's Resolutions," NR 29 December 1941: 878.

40. Ibid.

41. McWilliams, born in 1905 in Colorado, served as the California State Commissioner of Immigration and Housing from 1938 to 1942. After he resigned from the job, he actively got engaged in civil rights and minority issues and became one of the foremost critics of the mass Japanese exclusion and internment. Since the war years, he often wrote for the New Republic and other liberal journals such as the Nation and Common Ground. The New Republic gave a considerably high credit to McWilliams and his idea. In regard with the Japanese problem, the magazine published his articles more than anyone else. The magazine once described him as "one of the real authorities on problems of minorities ...." ("Carey McWilliams," NR 19 July 1943: 62.) He is the

author of What About Our Japanese-Americans? (New York: Public Affairs Committee) and Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance (Boston: Little, Brown), both of which were published in 1944. McWilliams served as West Coast contributing editor at the Nation from 1945 and directed its editorship from 1955 to 1976. For further discussion about McWilliams and his works, see, Charles Wollenberg, "Carey McWilliams: Reformer as Historian," California Historical Quarterly Vol.53, No.2 (Summer 1974): 173-80.

42. "California and the Japanese," NR 23 February 1942: 295.

43. Ibid., 296-7.

44. "The War and Civil Liberties," NR 16 March 1942: 356.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., 357.

47. Ibid., 355.

48. Ibid., 357.

49. Challenging to the "Good War" image of World War II, Roger Daniels criticized a simplistic "comparison of the number of indictments under federal security statutes." (Roger Daniels, "Bad News from the Good War: Democracy at Home During World War II," in O'Brien and Parsons, eds., The Home-Front War, 159.) As Daniels complained, it is likely that this comparison concealed some problematic incidents. For example, by the time when the New Republic ran the stories of McWilliams and Strout, the counterintelligence agencies such as the Federal Investigation Bureau (FBI) had been arresting more than 2,000 people of Japanese descent (chiefly the Issei leaders) with "its mistaken belief that the Japanese in America were a strict, homogeneous people espousing uniform loyalty to Japan." [Bob Kumamoto, "The Search for Spies: American Counterintelligence and the Japanese American Community 1931-1942," Amerasia Journal Vol.6, No.2 (Fall 1979): 56. For further discussion about the Japanese intelligence operations and the American counterintelligence's response to them, see, Pedro A. Loureiro, "Japanese Espionage and American Countermeasures in Pre-Pearl Harbor California," Journal of American-East Asian Relations Vol.3, No.3 (Fall 1994): 197-210.] The New Republic did not comment or run any story about it. Daniels concluded: "First of all, things were neither as good as generally depicted nor as bad as they could have been. But second, it is clear that events on the home front during World War II must not be taken in isolation but considered as part of a continuum." (Daniels, "Bad News from the Good War," 167.)

50. "The War and Civil Liberties," 356.

51. "Japanese in Hawaii," NR 6 April 1942: 446.

52. "Japanese Out of California," NR 6 April 1942: 451.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., 450. The "Correspondence" section of the April 20 issue ran a letter from a Japanese who praised McWilliams' articles in March 2 and April 6 issues. He wrote: "It seems to me that Americans take it for granted that all the Japanese are pro-Axis, fascist people. But please remember that there are also strong anti-fascists among them." (NR 20 April 1942: 544.)

56. "Liberty and the War," NR 15 June 1942: 815.

57. "Democracy and the Nisei," NR 10 August 1942: 158; "Footnote," NR 12 April 1943: 462; "The Japanese Americans," NR 19 July 1943: 63.

58. In reality, the ACLU itself was not monolithic in deciding its official stance to the Japanese problem. For example, the ACLU director Roger Baldwin, general counsel Arthur Hays, director of the San Francisco branch Ernest Besig, and some other local ACLU members strongly claimed that the ACLU straightforwardly reject the presidential order itself as violation of individual liberty in the name of military necessity. But this study limits its scope only to the compromised official stance of the ACLU and what appeared in the New Republic. For more detail about the conflicts within the ACLU, see, Irons, Justice at War, 104-34; William A. Donohue, The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1985), 158-9; Samuel Walker, In Defense of American Liberties: A History of the ACLU (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 135-49.

59. "Civil Liberties and War," NR 22 June 1942: 849.

60. "On the Civil Liberties Front," NR 13 July 1942: 37. "The Week" of January 4, 1943 again cited the ACLU's review of the past year as follows: "While on the whole democratic liberties have been faithfully maintained, constant vigilance is necessary to protect the rights of the individual and minority groups under the tension of war." ("Free Speech in Wartime," NR 4 January 1943: 5.) The magazine also quoted that "the Union views with alarm the unprecedented power assumed by the army ... to evacuate individual citizens held to be dangerous to military security from military areas on the West Coast ...." (Ibid.) But the magazine did not discuss the issue more than that.

61. See, ACLU, Freedom in Wartime: A Report of the American Civil Liberties Union in the Second Year of the War New York: ACLU, 1943; ACLU, In Defense of Our Liberties: A Report of the American Civil Liberties Union in the Third Year of the War New York: ACLU, 1944; ACLU, Liberty on the Home Front: In the Fourth Year of War New York: ACLU, 1945; ACLU, From War to Peace: American Liberties, 1945-46 New York: ACLU, 1946.

62. ACLU, Military Power and Civil Rights: A Statement of Policy on War-Time Issues (New York: ACLU, 1942) 4-5; Walker, In Defense of American Liberties, 141.

63. ACLU, Freedom in Wartime, 29.

64. Ibid., 30.

65. "Democracy and the Nisei," NR 10 August 1942: 158.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. The authority was obviously conscious of the "democratic" treatment of the Japanese internees. It took such forms as maintenance of camps' physical conditions, instructions for self-governing by internees, temporary or permanent release for outside work, sorting out of the "loyal" and "disloyal," or restoration of drafting. See, Dillon S. Myer, "Democracy in Relocation," Common Ground Vol.3, No.2 (Winter 1943): 43-8; Dillon S. Myer, "Japanese American Relocation: Final Chapter," Common Ground Vol.6, No.1 (Autumn 1945): 61-6.

69. Greenberg, "Black and Jewish Responses to Japanese Internment," 9, 18-20.

70. "The Japanese Americans," NR 11 January 1943: 40.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid. The report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians wrote that "protective custody" reasoning is not an acceptable rationale for mass exclusion and internment that continued for months and years. (The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied, 7.)

73. "The Japanese Americans," NR 19 July 1943: 63.

74. Ibid.

75. "Concentration Camp: U.S. Style," NR 15 June 1942: 822-3.

76. "Trouble Among Japanese Americans," NR 1 February 1943: 143.

77. "Conditions at Camp Harmony," NR 18 January 1943: 72.

78. It would be very difficult to draw a single clear conclusion about the quality of camp conditions because it can be described or perceived differently in accordance with each camp, period, and person. But the report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians generalized the life in camps as follows:

> Construction was often shoddy. Privacy was practically impossible and furnishings were minimal. Eating and bathing were in mass facilities. ... Mass living prevented normal family communication and activities. ...
>
> The normal functions of community life continued but almost always under a handicap -- doctors were in short supply; schools which taught typing had no typewriters and worked from hand-me-down school books; there were not enough jobs. (The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied, 11.)

79. "Conditions at Camp Harmony," 72.

80. Ibid.

81. "Footnote," NR 12 April 1943: 462.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid. This explanation becomes a bit less ambiguous if one reads "The Week" of July 5, which said: "The Japanese government has sworn to take reprisals against American prisoners in its hands if any of its nationals in this country are abused ...." ("Mr. Dies: Plea for Avoidance," NR 5 July 1943: 5.) One possible guess from these passages is that the magazine merely attempted to protest against the Japanese government's threats of revenge and did not intend to justify the American government's treatment of internees as a reprisal against the Japanese government's treatment of American hostages.

84. For the formative period of the JACL, see, Bill Hosokawa, Nisei: The Quiet Americans (New York: William Morrow, 1969), 191-205; Bill Hosokawa, JACL: In Quest of Justice (New York: William Morrow, 1982), 15-47.

85. Hosokawa, JACL, 138; Jere Takahashi, "Japanese American Responses to Race Relations: The Formation of Nisei Perspectives," Amerasia Journal Vol.9, No.1 (1982): 48. For further discussion of the activities and characteristics of the JACL in early war years, see, Paul R. Spickard, "The Nisei Assume Power: The Japanese Citizens League, 1941-1942," Pacific Historical Review Vol.52, No.2 (May 1983): 147-74.

86. That mentality can be observed in the JACL's "Japanese American Creed," which Mike Masaoka, executive secretary of the JACL, wrote around May 1941. The creed read in part: "I pledge myself to do honor to [America] all times and places; to defend her against all enemies, foreign and domestic; to actively assume my duties and obligations as a citizen, cheerfully and without any reservations whatsoever, in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America." The whole text of the creed is reprinted in Hosokawa, JACL, 279-80; Roger Daniels, "Japanese America, 1930-41: An Ethnic Community in the Great Depression," Journal of the West Vol.24, No.4 (October 1985): 46. Daniels calls the creed "hypernationalism." (Ibid.)

87. When the presidential order was issued, the JACL said: "We are going into exile as a patriotic duty." (Cited in Spickard, "The Nisei Assume Power," 162, 169.) At the hearing of a congressional committee on February 21, 1942, Mike Masaoka, the JACL executive secretary, again made clear that the JACL was ready to abide by the government's decision only if it was genuinely necessary. Masaoka testified: "If ... evacuation of Japanese residents from the West Coast is a primary step toward assuring the safety of this nation, we will have no hesitation in complying with the necessities implicit in that judgment. But, if ... such evacuation is [the result of] the desires of political or other pressure groups who want us to leave merely from motives of self-interest, we feel that we have every right to protest ...." (The whole text of his testimony is reprinted in Hosokawa, JACL, 361-3.)

88. Paul Spickard contended, "by the end of 1942, JACL leadership was in eclipse in all the concentration camps. ... [And] the JACL did not again become a power among Japanese Americans until after the war." (Spickard, "The Nisei Assume Power," 171.)

89. "Good News for Japanese Americans," NR 6 March 1944: 318.

90. Ibid., 319.

91. "The Nisei and Selective Service," NR 20 March 1944: 382.

92. Ibid.

93. "The Japanese American Citizens' League," NR 24 April 1944: 562.

94. "Civil Rights for Nisei," NR 14 August 1944: 189.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. McWilliams gave a similar warning elsewhere. See, Carey McWilliams, "Race Tensions: Second Phase," Common Ground Vol.4, No.1 (Autumn 1943): 7-12.

98. "Racism on the West Coast," NR 29 May 1944: 732.

99. "Racism on the West Coast," NR 12 June 1944: 786. Interestingly, McWilliams also mentioned the press' responsibility for spreading the new anti-Japanese rage all through California, charging that many newspapers were inciting anti-Japanese mood by reporting untruthful stories and using discriminatory language. "A section of the West Coast press systematically deflects hatred of Japan against the evacuees and uses hatred of the evacuees to justify its contention that the war in the Pacific is primarily racial in character." (Ibid., 785.) The shortcoming, the author implied, was less diversity and competition in the public marketplace of ideas because "even though who are inclined to be fair do not dare to speak out on this issue. ... Not one of these men [mostly politicians in this context] dares to state publicly his real views on the evacuee problem." (Ibid., 786.)

100. In the June 26 issue, the magazine let the ACLU secretary Lucille B. Milner introduce the ACLU's survey and write the mass Japanese internment was an "expression" of "racism" and "it, too, is predicated on the doctrine of 'white supremacy,' and long after the war is won it will plague the Pacific Coast states for a democratic solution." ("On the Civil-Liberty Front," NR 26 June 1944: 839-40.)

101. Toyosaburo Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944) at 217.

102. 323 U.S. at 220.

103. 323 U.S. at 234.

104. "Loyalty is a matter of the heart and mind not of race, creed, or color," said the Court. [Ex parte Mitsuye Endo, 323 U.S. 283 (1944) at 302.] The Endo decision, however, was accompanied by critical concurring opinions by Justice Murphy and Roberts. Murphy agreed with in the Court's opinion but added the essence of his dissenting opinion in Korematsu case that the exclusion and internment were "another example of the unconstitutional resort to racism inherent in the entire evacuation program." (323 U.S. at 307.) Roberts also agreed with the result but disagreed with the reasons behind the Court's opinion, saying "the court endeavors to avoid constitutional issues which are necessarily involved." (323 U.S. at 308.) The real question the Court had to face, said Roberts, was "whether the relator's detention violated the guarantees of the Bill of Rights of the federal Constitution and especially the guarantee of due process of law. There can be but one answer to that question. An admittedly loyal citizen has been deprived of her liberty for a period of years." (323 U.S. at 310.)

105. Peter Irons discussed that, considering the timing of the Court's decisions on the Korematsu and Endo cases, the government had been planning to terminate the internment earlier. (Irons, Justice at War, 345.)

106. "Civil Liberties in '44," NR 15 January 1945: 69.

107. Ibid.

108. ACLU, Liberty on the Home Front, 7.

109. Ibid., 27. The WRA's sorting method of the "loyal" and "disloyal" by the so-called "loyalty questionnaire" or "loyalty oath" was highly problematic. In February and March 1943, the authority administered a "registration" and "loyalty review program" at all 10 internment camps. Accordingly, all Japanese internees were segregated between the "loyal" and the "disloyal" by their answers to specific two loyalty questions. Question 27 asked the draft-age males: "Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" And Question 28 asked: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?" The Japanese viewed this program with strong distrust and confusion. But responding negatively to either or both of the questions was enough to label a person "disloyal." By the fall of 1943, those who answered unsatisfactorily and those who had demanded repatriation and expatriation to Japan as a total number of more than 18,000 were segregated at Tule Lake Segregation Camp in California and denied permission to leave. (tenBroek, et al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution, 160-4.) For further examination about the problems of the loyalty testing, see, The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Personal Justice Denied, 185-212; Gordon Nakagawa, "'What Are We Doing Here With All These Japanese?': Subject-Constitution and Strategies of Discursive Closure Represented in Stories of Japanese American Internment," Communication Quarterly Vol.38, No.4 (Fall 1990): 390-6.

110. Neither did the New Republic respond to the Supreme Court's decisions on the Hirabayashi and Yasui cases in 1943 [Kiyoshi Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81 (1943), Minoru Yasui v. United States, 320 U.S. 115 (1943)]. The Court's opinions on these landmark cases for the Japanese were issued on June 21, 1943. The Court's opinions were written by Chief Justice Harlan Stone and unanimously upheld the orders to establish military areas and to impose curfew in the areas "in time of war for the declared purpose of prosecuting the war by protecting national defense resources for sabotage and espionage." (320 U.S. at 92.)

111. "The WRA Says 'Thirty,'" NR 25 June 1945: 867-8.

112. Ibid., 867.

113. Ibid., 868.

114. Ibid., 867.

115. "The Nisei Come Home," NR 9 July 1945: 45-6.

116. Ibid., 46.

117. Cited in Thomas M. Linehan, "Japanese American Resettlement in Cleveland During and After World War II," Journal of Urban History Vol.20, No.1 (November 1993): 55.

118. "The Nisei Come Home," 46.

119. See, for example, Alexander H. Leighton, et al. "Assessing Public Opinion in a Dislocated Community," Public Opinion Quarterly Vol.7, No.4 (Winter 1943): 652-67; Toshio Yatsushiro, et al. "The Japanese-American Looks at Resettlement," Public Opinion Quarterly Vol.8, No.2 (Summer 1944): 188-201; Emory S. Bogardus, "The Japanese Return to the West Coast," Sociology and Social Research Vol.31, No.3 (January-February 1947): 226-33; Laura Maeda, "Life at Minidoka: A Personal History of the Japanese-American Relocation," Pacific Historian Vol.20, No.4 (Winter 1976): 379-87; Edward N. Barnhart, "The Individual Exclusion of Japanese Americans in World War II," Pacific Historical Review Vol.29, No.2 (May 1960): 111-30; Howard A. Droker, "Seattle Race Relations During the Second World War," Pacific Northwest Quarterly Vol.67, No.4 (October 1976): 163-74; Harvey Schwartz, "A Union Combats Racism: The ILWU's Japanese-American 'Stockton Incident' of 1945," Southern California Quarterly Vol.62, No.2 (Summer 1980): 161-76; Tetsuden Kashima, "Japanese American Internees Return, 1945 to 1955: Readjustment and Social Amnesia," Phylon Vol.41, No.2 (Summer 1980): 107-15; Mitziko Sawada, "After the Camps: Seabrook Farms, New Jersey, and the Resettlement of Japanese Americans, 1944-47," Amerasia Journal Vol.13, No.2 (1986-87): 117-36; Sandra C. Taylor, "Leaving the Concentration Camps: Japanese American Resettlement in Utah and the Intermountain West," Pacific Historical Review Vol.60, No.2 (May 1991): 169-94.

120. Linehan, "Japanese American Resettlement in Cleveland During and After World War II," 76.

121. Lawrence S. Wittner, Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1933-1983 revised ed., (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 105. See also, Chiba, From Enemy to Ally, 59-64, 75-6.

122. For further discussion of limitations of the ACLU, Communist Party, Afro-American organizations, Jewish groups, and other various groups, see, Chang, "'Superman is about to visit the relocation centers' and the Limits of Wartime Liberalism," 37-60; Greenberg,. "Black and Jewish Responses to Japanese Internment," 3-37; Irons, Justice at War, 104-34; Donohue, The Politics of the American Civil Liberties Union, 158-9; Walker, In Defense of American Liberties, 135-49; Polenberg, "World War II and the Bill of Rights," in O'Brien and Parsons, eds., The Home-Front War, 11-24.

123. tenBroek, et al., Prejudice, War and the Constitution, 3. For further discussion about the history of the anti-Japanese movement, see, for example, Roger Daniels, The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movements in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion New York: Atheneum, 1969.

A History of St. Louis Newspapers: Context for the Birth of the Sun in 1989

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Abstract

This paper provides historical context for the creation of the St. Louis Sun by tracing the history of newspapering in St. Louis from its beginnings in 1808 to the founding of the short-lived Sun in 1989. Most of the paper focuses on the long, intense battle between the Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat, but it notes that St. Louis has hosted fierce newspaper competition since 1815 and was thus ready for the Sun in 1989.

A History of St. Louis Newspapers: Context for the birth of the Sun in 1989

I. Introduction

The St. Louis Sun had a publishing run of only seven months in 1989-90, yet the innovative tabloid lives on in the minds of newspaper people as an example of what has become an industry shibboleth: Only the very largest of American cities can support more than one metropolitan daily.

By extension, it is an industry truism that it is impossible to launch a profitable metroplitan daily in the United States since none has been created since before World War II. (The Washington Times is dismissed because of its subsidization by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, and USA Today is, of course, not a metropolitan daily.) Indeed, an article in the January/February 1995 issue of Quill suggested the future of industry expansion is in creating alternative weeklies, not launching new dailies because "the ghost of the St. Louis Sun . . . probably still haunts any newspaper mogul with such an idea" (Avis, 1995).

Yet it is possible to argue that a properly conceived, financed and executed metropolitan daily could be created in the United States. As Sun founder Ralph Ingersoll II told skeptics when he launched the Sun, newspaper start-ups had been successful in recent years in Canada (Sharkey, 1989). Why couldn't something similar be done in the United States? One could even argue that the Sun had several advantages upon its birth in 1989. Ingersoll was a successful businessman who had taken over his father's chain of 11 family newspapers in 1973 and turned it into a group of more than 150 newspapers in the United States and Europe by 1989 (Sharkey, 1989). His holdings included a chain of 40 suburban weeklies ringing St. Louis, which gave him an advertising base and familiarity with the market. His plan for a new kind of newspaper and his willingness to spare no cost in launching it lured dozens of experienced journalists to the project, including St. Louis Post-Dispatch Publisher Thomas Tailarico and star columnist Kevin Horrigan.

But Ingersoll's Sun failed miserably, closing after just seven months and losing $20 million. Industry observers and relieved Post-Dispatch executives voiced the expected "I-told-you-so's," and the Sun was quickly forgotten other than as a warning for future entreprenuers.

Yet such an important subject should not so easily be dismissed on the basis of industry cliches. A more rigorous examination of the causes of the Sun's failure is needed. For if the Sun collapsed for reasons other than the industry maxim of one newspaper per city, then perhaps there is yet a formula for a new kind of daily that could revitalize the industry.

One angle in need of exploration is the historical context in which the Sun was launched. What was the tradition of St. Louis newspaper journalism in 1989? Were St. Louisan's historically avid newspaper readers, and if so, what kind of newspapers did they enjoy? Were St. Louisan's satisifed with being a one-daily newspaper town, or did the collective memory of the city demand a voice other than the Post-Dispatch? It is the purpose of this paper to shed light on those questions.

II. Pioneer Days

As the dominant city in Missouri, St. Louis is first in many areas, and it is no different in the newspaper business. The first newspaper established in the area that was to become the state of Missouri was the Missouri Gazette and Louisianna Advertiser, whose first issue was published on July 12, 1808, scarcely five years after the Louisiana Purchase made the area part of the United States. The Gazette, which was published in the town of St. Louis, was born 13 years before Missouri became a state and almost 15 years before St. Louis was incorporated as a city.

The Gazette's founder was Joseph Charless, an immigrant printer whose biography is typical of that of his contemporaries. Charless, a native of Ireland, had worked as a printer in Lewistown and Philadephia, Pennsylavania, and in Kentucky before moving to St. Louis in 1808. His wanderlust had apparently been fueled by the pioneer spirit of espacing the crowded East coupled with the promise of a virgin area ripe for new business. (Taft, 1964, p. 3).

Charless had established a newspaper in Louisville, where he had one rival, but Louisiana Territory Gov. Meriwether Lewis encouraged him to move to St. Louis so the territorial Legislature would have a press on which to print its laws. Charless established the Gazette with the aid of a $225 advance from the territorial government and in his first year of operation received more than $1,400 from the government for printing laws and militia orders (Lyon, p. 14-15).

As in much of its newspaper history, St. Louis' conditions mirrored those of the rest of America. Frontier life was rugged, and the work of a frontier printer was a struggle. Charless had only 174 subscribers his first year, and a major problem in trying to collect payment from his readers; after four years, he had more than $1,000 in delinquent receipts, even though he accepted flour, pork, sarsparilla and snakeroot in payment (Primm, p. 89). Readers who disagreed with the paper's content sought more redress than a letter to the editor. Charless was spit upon, assaulted and shot at by disgruntled readers. (Taft, 1964, p. 10). Charless' problems would be by no means the last violence involving St. Louis editors and their readers.

A lot of the anger directed at Charless was prompted by his criticism of the local politicians and the American military during the War of 1812 (Lyon, p. 16). But it was his oppostion to slavery in general and the admission of Missouri to the union as a slave state in particular that led to charges that his columns were biased, although Charless claimed the Gazette was open to all views. Politicians opposed to Charless raised $1,000 to start in 1815 St. Louis second newspaper, the Western Journal (Taft, 1964, p. 12-13).

The founding of the Journal, although it lasted less than a year, was thus the first example of the desire of St. Louisans for opposing viewpoints in their newspapers. The Journal was revived in 1817 as The Emigrant and General Advertiser, and St. Louis has had at least weekly newspaper competition ever since.

Charless, known as the Father of Missouri Journalism, sold his newspaper in 1820 for reasons that remain obscure, but he had already started St. Louis well on its way to becoming a thriving newspaper city (Taft, 1964, p. 10). By 1835 St. Louis had eight newspapers, so many that editors complained the number of newspapers was increasing faster than the number of readers (Lyon, p. 18). One of the newspapers founded in 1835 was St. Louis' first daily, The Daily Evening Herald and Commercial Advertiser, which died after only six months (Taft, 1992, p. 3).

III. The Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat

But by far the most significant events of this period for St. Louis newspaper history were the founding of two newspapers that were the forerunners of what would become city's two great dailies, the Globe-Democrat and the Post-Dispatch. Although St. Louis has been served by many newspapers since 1808, and had three dailies as recently as 1951, the story of St. Louis newspapering is largely the story of the conservative Globe-Democrat and the liberal Post-Dispatch. Both became nationally known award-winning newspapers that together served St. Louis ably by providing counterpoints on the major issues of the day.

Tracing the precise beginnings of such old businesses is an inexact science, especially considering that papers in the early 19th Century changed names and owners as often as restaurants in a college town. Jim Allee Hart, author of A History of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, dates his book from the creation of the Daily Missouri Democrat, which was founded in 1852 by local businessmen and politicians to give the Free-Soil party a voice in St. Louis in the years leading up the Civil War (Hart, 1-2). However, the Globe-Democrat origins actually may be traced back as far as 1833, when another paper, the St. Louis Advocate, was formed to promote state's rights and oppose the tariff. It was reorganized as the Missouri Argus in 1835, sold and renamed the Missouri Reporter in 1841, and finally merged with the Missourian (founded in 1843) under the name St. Louis Union in 1846 (Lyon, 22 and 69). The Democrat publishers bought the Union in 1853 and combined it with their paper (Hart, 5). The Democrat would not add the Globe to its name until another merger 10 years after the Civil War.

The Post-Dispatch has similar diverse antecedents, although popular journalism history dates the paper to Joseph Pulitzer's purchase of the Dispatch at an 1878 Sheriff's sale for $2,500. Pulitzer immediately merged it with the Post and began fulfilling his "destiny," as Emery so dramatically wrote (p. 309). But like the Globe-Democrat, forerunners of the Post-Dispatch actually date to the 1830s. The German-language Anzeiger des Westens, which ultimately merged with the Post-Dispatch by way of a merger with the Westliche Post, was first published as a weekly in 1835. Another ancestor of the Post-Dispatch, The St. Louis Evening Gazette, was born in 1838 (Vexler, 6-7).

The important thing to remember about all the mergers and name changes is that they demontrate St. Louis' rich history of diverse viewpoints expressed in a variety of newspapers. The motivation for the flurry of creations and mergers was not so often profit but rather a desire to provide a voice for group that was not being heard, whether it was a political organization like the Free-Soil party or an ethnic group like the German imimigrants. And the expression of these views was often a passionate thing for the journalists. One St. Louis newspaperman even died for his beliefs. Elijah Lovejoy, who continued publishing the abolitionist St. Louis Observer in the face of threats and the destruction of his press, was murdered by a pro-slavery mob in 1837 (Emery, 214-15).

The men of the Democrat, which was the only slave-state paper to support Abraham Lincoln's presidential campaigns in both 1860 and 1864, also bravely faced mob violence on several occasions (Hart, 50). In one particularly dramatic episode in May 1861, a pro-slavery mob tried to attack the newspaper office in revenge for a fight between Union and Southern sympathizers in which 20 people were killed. The Democrat was a target of the pro-slavery people because of its Unionist stand. McKee knew the paper would be attacked that night but stayed with a handful of policemen and

Union sympathizers to defend the paper. Several thousand drunken, screaming men hurled rocks at the Unionists but fled when the defenders waived their clubs and drew their pistols (Hart, 47-48).

The Democrat continued to support the Union cause throughout the Civil War, although it began criticizing Lincoln about issues like political appointments and trade after McKee felt he was not getting the government printing contracts he deserved as a loyal supporter of the president. McKee certainly had reason to believe his paper was important. Union soldiers regularly cheered the Democrat when they marched by, and Lincoln himself said it was worth 10 regiments of soldiers (Hart, 75-76).

Although the war had established the Democrat's stature as a national newspaper, McKee and co-owners Daniel Houser and George W. Fishback were not in agreement on the paper's future. Fishback, who according to Hart was displeased over the political stance of the paper and the large expenditures on the news department, bought out McKee and Houser in 1872. McKee and Houser founded the Globe about four months later.

Their new paper struggled its first two years, partly because they could not join the Western Assocated Press, admittance to which required a unanimous vote by the members, including Fishback, who, of course, did not want them to have membership (Hart 113). Ironically, their savior was Pulitzer, who bought at auction an obscure German language paper that had association membership. He sold its press association membership to the

Globe owners in 1874 for a profit of as much as $40,000 (Swanberg, 30), thus starting the nest egg that would in a few years hatch the Post-Dispatch.

The franchise assured the success of the Globe, because McKee and Houser had already hired one of the most underappreciated journalists of the late 19th Century, Joseph B. McCullagh. Under McCullagh's leadership, the the Globe so far surpassed the Democrat in circulation that Fishback sold it back to McKee and Houser in 1875. The first edition of the resulting merger, the Globe-Democrat, was published May 20, 1875.

McCullagh would be the editor of the paper for the next 21 years, during which time he would make a substantial contribution to the development of the American newspaper and be immortalized in a poem called "Little Mack" by St. Louis writer Eugene Field.

Historian Charles C. Clayton noted that McCullagh was the first reporter to formally interview a president when he interviewed Andrew Johnson in 1865. McCullagh's confidential relationship with Johnson was also the first such association between a president and a journalist that is comparable to the relationships between some modern reporters like James Reston and recent presidents (Clayton, 44). McCullagh is also credited with being the first journalist to establish mass coverage of national political conventions, and he was among the first to develop human interest stories and the use of illustrations (Clayton, 126 and 235).

Hart also praised McCullagh's innovations and included some interesting trivia in his history of the Globe-Democrat. For example, McCullagh was the first to use the word "booming" in its present meaning of "growing rapidly" when he applied it to the Grant presidential campaign in the late 1870s (Hart, 149). He was also author of the oft-quoted journalism maxim that "running a newspaper is the art of guessing where hell is likely to break loose next" (Hart, 144).

But McCullagh is largely forgotten today. For example, Emery's history of the mass media includes a full page photo and an entire chapter on Joseph Pultizer, but only four references to McCullagh in a 759-page book. McCullagh's obsurity today is regrettable, especially in reference to St. Louis, where his innovations were noted by a man who ultimately became more famous—Joseph Pultizer. (Clayton, 235).

Pulitzer got his start as a reporter for the Westliche Post in St. Louis and as a publisher with his purchase of the Post-Dispatch. He was phenominally successful with the Post-Dispatch, increasing circulation from about 4,000 in 1878 to 22,300 in only three years (Swanberg, 44, 60), and surpassing the Globe-Democrat in 1897 (Hart, 168). But Pulitzer always had his eyes on New York and devoted the bulk of his career to the New York World after he purchased it in 1882. He tried to sell the Post-Dispatch a number of times and used it as a journalististic gulag for employees or sons who didn't perform up to his often dictatorial standards at the World. Typical of his attitude toward the Post-Dispatch was his attempt to sell it in 1899 to "rid himself of a worry" (Swanberg, 259). The younger Pulitzer was sent to learn the business at the Post-Dispatch after flunking out of Harvard and being fired from the World for over-sleeping (Swanberg, 328-329). The younger Pulitzer's misspent youth was doubtless part of the reason his father willed him the smallest portion of the estate when he died in 1911.

Although Pulitzer obviously could judge news, he couldn't judge children. Joseph Pultizer II turned out to be the best journalist of the brood, and the Post-Dispatch thrived under his leadership while the World floundered and was sold out of the family by 1931. In fact, the younger Pulitzer may even have been a better journalist than his father. The first Pulitzer's journalistic credo about promoting social justice and fighting shams is often-quoted in journalism literature, but Daniel W. Pfaff noted in his biography of the younger Pulitzer that those journalistic goals were "impressively advanced" by Joseph Pulitzer II. Pfaff wrote that the younger Pulitzer's leadership of the Post-Dispatch from 1908 to 1955 was a time when the paper won 12 of its 17 Pulitzer prizes and "might well have been a kind of "golden age" of the Post-Dispatch (p. 5).

During the reign of the first two Pulitzers, the Globe-Democrat and Post-Dispatch were rivals, but the newspapers' editorial differences were not as bitterly opposite as they would become in the 1960s and beyond. For example, the Post-Dispatch ardently supported Joseph W. Folk for governor in 1904 while the Globe-Democrat "hated" Folk and other St. Louis newspapers "wavered" (Primm, p. 392). But the two newspapers could unite to oppose a 1915 segregation ordinance (Primm, p. 438), and both supported a 1918 zoning ordinance (Primm, p. 446). And some of their differences were merely amusing; for example, the conservative and supposedly stodgy Globe-Democrat helped finance Charles Lindbergh's daring solo flight across the Atlantic Ocean while the liberal and supposedly progressive Post-Dispatch refused.

During the turmoil of the Great Depression and World War II the newspapers also at times presented a united front. The Globe-Democrat, although it consistently endorsed candidates running against Franklin Roosevelt, supported his New Deal policies for almost a year, writing that such measures were understandable since "the country was in a situation comparable to that of war" (Hart, 215). Joseph Pultizer II was considered by some of his staff to be "middle-of-the-road" politically, and like the Globe-Democrat editors, Pulitzer endorsed Republican presidential candidates Alf Landon and Thomas Dewey against FDR in 1936 and 1948, respectively (Pfaff, p. 9-10).

After the war, Pulitzer shared the concerns of many people about Communist subversion and even considered strengthing the screening procedures for new Post-Dispatch employees. His staff and his son, Joseph Pulitzer III, were more liberal than Pulitizer, and dissuaded him from the screening idea (Pfaff, p. 11).

The Globe-Democrat, meanwhile, was falling behind the Post-Dispatch in circulation. Hart attributed at least in part of the problem to the fact that the Globe-Democrat--unlike it's rivals, the Post-Dispatch and Star-Times--did not own a radio station on which to promote itself. The Post-Dispatch improved from a virtual circulation deadlock in 1944 to a lead of about 20,000 by 1946. When the Post-Dispatch purchased the Star-Times in 1951, its lead jumped to about 100,000 over the Globe-Democrat. (Hart, p. 220-221).

Globe-Democrat owner Lansing Ray, a descendant of the original owners but with no heir of his own, sold the newspaper to the Newhouse chain in 1955. A 1959 strike that lasted 99 days cost the Globe-Democrat an estimated $5 million in revenue and uncalculable losses in subcribers (Hart, p. 244-245). During the strike, the Globe-Democrat sold its building and presses to the Post-Dispatch and announced a contract for its rival to print its newspaper after the strike was settled.

Editorially, the Newhouse-appointed publisher, Richard H. Amberg, tried to move the Globe-Democrat toward the center of the political specrum by dropping some right-wing columnists and even endorsing some Democrats for office in 1958 (Hart, p. 236-237). But the centrist position never took hold, maybe because the Post-Dispatch moved further toward the left or perhaps because the two newspapers reflected the increasing polarization of the United States over the Vietnam War, civil rights and Watergate.

Reading issues of the two newspapers from the 1960s through the death of the Globe-Democrat in 1986 is like reading issues of the partisan press from the early years of American history. The papers did not simply disagree on issues. They disagreed vehemently, and their editorial pages were often filled with bitterness toward their opponents.

Perhaps no story during this period was as divisive as the Vietnam War. The Globe-Democrat unfailingly interpreted the war as a noble effort to help a desparate people fight communist aggression, and it supported vigorous prosecution of the war. The Post-Dispatch, on the other hand, consistently supported negotiations and doubted whether the war accomplished anything worthwhile.

Long before the anti-war movement peaked in the late 1960s, the Globe-Democrat was tweaking doves on its editorial page. For example, a July 7, 1964, cartoon showed a wimpy, academic type with thick glasses and hair standing on end screaming at Uncle Sam to haul down a U.S. flag flying from a flagpole labeled "stronger Asian policy" ("'Haul it Down--They'll Call us Warmongers,'" 1964). The Globe-Democrat argued prosecution of the war should be a presidential campaign issue that year. "In the bloody stalemate in Vietnam we see the result of the adminstration's chronic refusal to commit itself to victory," and noted that while Lyndon Johnson's "spine stiffened" recently, the adminstration was still not fighting the war right ("Vietnam a Campaign Issue," 1964).

The Post-Dispatch at the same time was taking the opposite position. "This is, in short, a political war with political objectives . . . There can be no purely military solution" Although the Post-Dispatch rarely had anything good to say about the opinions of Republicans, it wrote that former Republican Vice Presidential nominee Henry Cabot Lodge was "eminently sensible" when he said the war should not be a campaign issue ("What War is About," 1964).

The 1964 election actually turned out to be a one-sided contest despite some doubts about the widening Vietnam War. But in 1968 the war was the dominant issue and the St. Louis newspapers took plainly opposite positions. A good example is the way they reported Johnson's announcement he would not run for re-election and would order a bombing halt to try to negotiate a peace settlement. The Globe-Democrat saw Johnson's action in terms of its effects on American soldiers. A cartoon showed a harried Uncle Sam in battle gear dodging bullets as he was hampered with a cast labeled "lame duck announcement" ("Sitting Duck," 1968). The Globe-Democrat wrote that a lame duck president would be weakened in negotiations and that Johnson had hurt the war effort by giving in to the "stop-the-bombing doves who hold the naive concept that Reds in Asia will listen to reason" ("Mr. Johnson Retires--'irrevocable,'" 1968).

The Post-Dispatch cheered the bombing halt as "great and laudable step" ("The President's Decision," 1968). It positively gloated over the effect on America's South Vietnamese allies:

> It is possible to have a certain sympathy for President Nguyen Van Thieu of South Vietnam. Nobody told him he was to have his water cut off. Sunday morning he was talking about a big increase in his armed forces and about a general mobilization this fall. A few hours later President Johnson announced a de-

> escalation of the conflict. One can understand why President Thieu, for the time being, was speechless ("Reaction in Saigon," 1968).

The editorial went on to say sarcastically that it was all right to invite Thieu to Washington "to soothe his wounded feelings" but that he should "maintain a discrete silence" during the peace negotiations and not demand the Viet Cong get out of his country ("Reaction in Saigon," 1968).

On the very same day the Globe-Democrat, in reaction of Robert Kennedy's criticism of South Vietnam, wrote that "No one can question the valor of South Vietnamese soldiers or the country's long-suffering people" (Saigon Pulls its Weight," 1968).

The newspapers' radical difference over the war continued through the end of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The Post-Dispatch editorialized that the peace settlement was "not peace with honor, but a peace of surfeit and exhaustion" ("Is it Peace at Last?", 1973). A news story focused on the cynicsims of public reaction and drew a strained comparision between public reaction to the Vietnam peace announcement and the end of World War II ("No Celebration after Nixon Speech," 1973).

The Globe-Democrat bannered the announcement in celebratory-sized headlines and noted on the editorial page that the war was fought for a just cause ("Cease-fire Vindicates U.S.," 1973).

Vietnam War coverage was certainly the best example of the differences between the Post-Dispatch and the Globe-Democrat during the last 25 years of their competition, but the war was by no means the only difference. They argued, of course, about political candidates. The Post-Dispatch portrayed Barry Goldwater as a warmonger, showing him surfing on a bomb labeled “foreign policy” (“It’s Easy When You Know How,” 1964). The Globe-Democrat reveled in Goldwater’s nomination and showed a monstrous elephant foot about to crush a mouse holding a sign reading “Stop Goldwater Movement” (“‘Mice can stop Elephants--Can’t They?’” 1964).

St. Louis readers probably thought Globe-Democrat and Post-Dispatch reporters attended different inaugural speeches when Nixon took the oath of office in 1973. The Post-Dispatch’s front-page story started, “The message was as gray as the day,” and called Nixon’s speech “a cool and astringent lecture on self-reliance and individual responsibility” (Ottenad, 1973). The Globe-Democrat’s story stated that “Richard M. Nixon launches his second term as president with high hopes for peace in Indochina, an easing of tension in Europe and the Middle East, and Sunny prosperity at home” (O’Brien, 1973).

The papers also differed on myriad social and government issues, two examples of which were government spending and abortion. The Globe-Democrat reacted to federal funding of transportation with the statement that “Prodigal big brother is on the march along the Capitol Hill trace,” (“Into the Mass Transit Maw,” 1964). The Post-Dispatch, on the other hand, wrote that “Congress has finally made a down payment on the cost of saving, rehabilitatign and ultimatelty vastly improving local transit systems driven to the wall by the fierce competition of the private automobile,” (Local Effort, Too, in Transit,” 1964).

When Johnson signed the Civil Rights bill in 1964, both papers ran similar editorials favoring the law, although the Globe-Democrat wrote that it had "some reservations about its constitutionality" ("Law of the Land, 1964), while the Post-Dispatch stated more assertively that it "reflects the consensus" of the people ("Assuring 'freedom to the free,'" 1964). But the papers differed dramatically on their front pages. The Globe-Democrat gave almost equal prominence to the murder of a white St. Louis policeman and the abduction of a white woman by a black ex-convict in an odd layout that put the murder headline directly underneath the Civil Rights bill headline. Both headlines stretched across the entire front page so the result appeared as if the stories were connected ("Johnson signs Civil Rights Bill," 1964; "Policeman slain, another shot by man who abducted woman," 1964). The murder suspect was referred to in a front-page photo caption as "cop-slayer." The Post-Dispatch also put both stories on the front page, but they were on opposite sides of the page so it was clear they were unrelated ("Negroes begin testing rights law, some find gains, some resistance," 1964; "Officer killed, second wounded by man who kidnapped girl," 1964). The picture of the suspect, who was identified as a "former convict," was on the jump page so the reader would have to open the paper and read the entire story to learn the suspect was black.and he was identified as a "former convict."

Was the Post-Dispatch consciously trying to mute racial tension by its layout? Was the Globe-Democrat trying to link the Civil Rights bill to violence? Such questions cannot be answered merely by looking at microfilm of the newspapers. But it is clear that the two papers were presenting St. Louisans with dramatically contrasting views on the racial tensions of the 1960s.

Abortion also received diverse coverage from the papers. The Post-Dispatch saw the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision as "a ruling of which the high court may be justly proud," and which is compassionate because it recognizes the mental harm of an unwanted pregnancy on the mother ("The Right to Abortion," 1973). The Globe-Democrat was worried about the issue and correctly predicted that it was "a blockbuster decision that will split the country apart on a significant social and religious question ("How Much Abortion in State?" 1973).

The contrast continued into the 1980s as the Post-Dispatch regularly criticized Ronald Reagan and the Globe-Democrat regularly praised him. In editorials reminiscent of the Vietnam War, the Globe-Democrat cheered the Grenada expedition while the Post-Dispatch condemned. The Post-Dispatch ran a cartoon of a bristling gunboat labeled "Reagan Foreign Policy" and an editorial comparing the operation to the Soviet Union invading Afghanistan ("Ship of State," 1983; "The Invasion of Grenada," 1983). The Globe-Democrat's editorial cartoon showed a huge American bayonet ripping the pants of a Castro-like figure carrying Soviet flag. The cartoon accompanied an editorial stating the invasion "is the most heartening action in many years against the Soviet bloc" ("A message to Leftist thugs," 1983."

Small wonder that when the Globe-Democrat folded three years later, many Republicans claimed they would no longer get fair coverage in St. Louis (Mannies, 1986). It didn't help that the death had occurred under controversial conditions. The Globe-Democrat and the Post-Dispatch had entered a Joint Operating Agreement in 1979. But only three years later, Newhouse Newspaper Group announced the paper was failing and would be closed even though it had higher circulation than the Post-Dispatch. The Justice Department pressured Newhouse to sell the paper amid ugly questions that Newhouse and the Post-Dispatch were trying to create a monopoly in which both would share (Tozier, 1986).

The Globe-Democrat was sold to Missouri magazine publisher Jeffery Gluck, but without the protection of the JOA, circulation and profits plummeted (Fitzgerald and Kramer, (1986). Conservative St. Louis businessmen Willam E. Franke and John B. Prentis III bought the paper in 1986 but could only operate it for less than a year before the paper closed for good on Oct. 29, 1986.

IV. Monopoly in St. Louis

After 108 years of competition with the Globe-Democrat and other lesser newspapers, the Post-Dispatch finally had a daily monoply. Post-Dispatch management moved to consolidate its position while the corpse of the Globe-Democrat was still warm. On November 2, the Post-Dispatch announced it would pick up the most popular Globe-Democrat comics and columns, even Dear Abby to add to its Ann Landers' feature ("Post-Dispatch Add features, comics from Globe," 1986). Such a move would of course leave slim pickings for any rival and is not unlike how Fishback tried to hamper McKee and Houser by preventing the Globe from getting membership in the Western Associated Press so many years ago.

But while the Globe-Democrat was dying, a new publisher arrived in St. Louis with the cockiness of a young gunfighter challenging the veteran to a draw. Ralph Ingersoll II was rapidly building his Ingersoll Publications into one of the largest chains in the country, and added St. Louis by purchasing two rival suburban chains for $80 million in 1984. He merged the original 35 suburban papers--some of which dated to 1913--into the Suburban Journals of Greater St. Louis (Wagman, 1984). Ingersoll quickly absorbed other independents into his group until his chain ringed St. Louis. Revenue for the suburban papers doubled from $35 million in 1984 to $70 million in 1986 (Bailey, 1986).

The Post-Dispatch, on the other hand, did not appear to be benefitting from its daily monopoly in terms of either content or profits. Time magazine dropped the Post-Dispatch from its annual list of America's 10 best newspapers in the early 1970s, and a 1983 California State Univerisity at Northridge poll rating the Post-Dispatch at the bottom of a list of the 15 best U.S. newspapers was apparently the last time it had been ranked on any such list before 1990 ("Whither the Post-Dispatch?" 1990). A Forbes magazine article said the Post-Dispatch was "hardly on a roll" and that everything from its building to its page layout gave an appearance of being old. It pointed out that Pulitzer Publishing Co.'s earnings had not budged since 1985, while earnings for rivals like the Washington Post Co. and the New York Times Co. were up at least 40 percent in the same period (Heins, 1989, p. 52).

The Post-Dispatch, it seems, was just not popular with many St. Louis readers, especially those with conservative beliefs who missed the Globe-Democrat. One person who knew this was Ingersoll, who was studying the possiblity of starting his own daily. Ingersoll had money and a huge newspaper chain, but his company lacked a major metropolitan daily as he was outbid three times for the Globe-Democrat and the Des Moines Register (Berman, 1986). Focus groups conducted for Ingersoll found readers were only lukewarm about the Post-Dispatch. A memo to Ingersoll from Tom Birkenmeier, who was supervising Ingersoll's research, concluded that "The Post has failed to make a positive emotional connection with many readers, and they've had 111 years to do it" (personal communication, August 5, 1989).

Going back even farther than the founding of the Post-Dispatch, St. Louis had always had diverse viewpoints in its newspapers. Since 1815, when the Western Journal was founded in opposition to Joseph Charless' Missouri Gazette, St. Louisans had always had a choice in newspapers. Now, in 1989, the stage was set for a new newspaper to offer a clear alternative to the Post-Dispatch. The only question that remained was whether Ingersoll could deliver it.

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History Division

The Political Costs of Press Controls:

Woodrow Wilson and Wartime Suppression

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The Political Costs of Press Controls:
Woodrow Wilson and Wartime Suppression

World War I not only completed the conversion of armed conflict into an industrial operation with mass civilian involvement, but also drove the nations that participated to abandon haphazard habits of wartime suppression for a more methodical process. The totalitarian regimes of Germany and Russia operated in predictably heavy-handed ways to control the press, but even the more democratically minded nations of Europe developed elaborate systems of censorship.[1] In the United States the more methodical approach was compatible with Progressive Era assumptions about the benefits of expanding state and federal power while emphasizing the needs of the social order—as determined by officials and experts—over individual rights. Priority often was given to rationalizing human behavior rather than heeding constitutional restrictions from the eighteenth-century.[2] Also, at times, maintaining American unity and cultural nationalism in the face of crisis and change appeared to be more important than preserving civil liberties.[3] In the "Americanism" plank of its 1916 platform, Woodrow Wilson's Democratic Party called for the country to be "welded" together in patriotism and said that anyone who "creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country."

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[1] France was particularly notable for its early creation of an intricate censorship bureaucracy. See Ross F. Collins, "The Development of Censorship in World War I France," *Journalism Monographs*, No. 131, February 1992. On the censorship by France, Great Britain, Germany and Russia, see Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty, From Crimea to Vietnam: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 80-81, 85-86, 90-101, 139-40, 244-333. Censorship created such rosy impressions in Germany that many in the country were surprised by the end of the war and were prepared to believe the nation had been betrayed by Jews and communists. Ibid., 133. On the other hand, the lies about Huns in Allied atrocity propaganda in World War I may have inclined some to doubt the Holocaust during World War II. Ibid., 329.

[2] For background, see David Steigerwald, *Wilsonian Idealism in America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979).

The imperative of conformity to asserted societal needs required a rethinking of the nation's most basic understandings. The United States did not have the kind of sweeping defense emergency laws that existed in Britain and France,[4] but, conveniently, constitutional provisions were being regarded increasingly as "organic living institutions" evolving over time as Justice Holmes wrote in a 1914 Supreme Court opinion.[5] With the idea of a "living" constitution came a government of rigorous, centralized controls reaching even the most basic rights of expression. After the United States entered World War I, statutes to punish "disloyal" opinion were passed by Congress and found constitutional by the Supreme Court. President Woodrow Wilson encouraged, signed and enforced laws that were the most serious assault on the First Amendment since the Sedition Act of 1798. Yet, as James Madison wrote when the Bill of Rights was ratified, "Public opinion sets bounds to every government, and is the real sovereign in every free one."[6] Politicians may want to do away with dissent, but they have to pay a price.[7] How did Wilson try to control wartime expression in the United States and what were the political costs of his decisions?

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[3] Lucas A. Powe, Jr., *The Fourth Estate and the Constitution: Freedom of the Press in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 69-70; Mark A. Graber, *Transforming Free Speech: The Ambiguous Legacy of Civil Libertarianism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 50-121; Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1979).

[4] See Rosamund M. Thomas, *Espionage and Secrecy: The Official Secrets Acts 1911-1989 of the United Kingdom* (London: Routledge: 1991); Evan J. Wallach, "Executive Powers of Prior Restraint Over Publication of National Security Information: The UK and the USA Compared," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 32 (April 1983): 424-51; Charles Fairman, "The Law of Martial Rule and the National Emergency," *Harvard Law Review* 55 (June 1942): 1254-56.

[5] Gompers v. U.S., 233 U.S. 604, 610 (1914).

I.

President Woodrow Wilson regarded journalism with disdain. Reserved and stubborn, he failed to charm members of the White House press corps as Theodore Roosevelt had done. Wilson was more private and his relationship with reporters was one of mutual distrust. Early in his first term he tried to use press conferences to educate the public and guide journalists, but he provided little newsworthy information and typically did not allow his remarks to be quoted. Wilson professed the ideal of open, democratic government, but did not like the reality of having to answer questions and sometimes gave answers that were misleading. With few exceptions, he stopped giving news conferences in 1915. Wilson cited the sensitive international situation, but was, in fact, frustrated by dealing with reporters who wanted to know what they wanted to know rather than what he wanted them to know.[8]

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[6] [Philadelphia] *National Gazette*, December 19, 1791.

[7] As one scholar has observed, "The reality of any legal system is discretion, the rules and sanctions of social fields, and power apart from the law." Stewart Macaulay, "Law and the Behavioral Sciences: Is There Any There There?" *Law & Policy* 6 (April 1984): 177.

[8] George Juergens, *News From the White House: The Presidential-Press Relationship in the Progressive Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 126-66; "Introduction," in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966—), 50: xii-xiv; Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., "The Press Conferences of Woodrow Wilson," *Journalism Quarterly* 39 (Summer 1962): 292-300.

As a person who evaluated issues on the basis of his own religious beliefs[9] and who made a point of saying that his being elected president[10] and the outcome of World War I[11] were determined by divine providence, Wilson recognized higher laws than the ones he swore to obey in his oath of office. Believing there was "more of a nation's politics to be gotten out of its poetry than out of all its systematic writers upon public affairs and constitutions,"[12] Wilson was not predisposed to be bound by the words of the Bill of Rights. As a political scientist, he saw opportunities in the emergence of stronger presidential leadership and adopted the rhetoric of contemporary reformers who said that the Constitution should be a flexible, living organism rather than a static, antiquated piece of machinery.[13] Wilson contrasted the moral and spiritual dimensions of American life with the "merely" legal, disparaging what he regarded as the "Newtonian" conceptions of the founders. "If you pick up *The Federalist*, some parts of it read like a treatise on astronomy instead of a treatise on government," he remarked. "They speak of the centrifugal and the centripetal forces, and locate the President somewhere in a rotating system." The whole thing, he complained, "is a calculation of power and an adjustment of parts."[14]

With such contempt for the spirit of the Constitution, Wilson saw no need to be restrained by the press clause. Immediately after declaring neutrality when the war broke out in Europe in 1914, he issued an executive order forbidding radio stations to transmit any "unneutral" messages and authorized the Secretary of the Navy to enforce the order with any action he thought necessary.[15] Amid suspicions that foreign-controlled broadcast facilities were being used to convey coded orders to ships at sea, the Navy placed censors at German and British long-distance stations on the Atlantic coast and soon began taking over their operations. The Marconi Company protested the actions against the British stations, contending that the government was acting without any legal authority.[16] Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory backed the administration's moves with an opinion saying that the president's "powers are broad" in the "preservation of the safety and integrity of the United States." Presidents had exercised emergency powers before, the opinion noted, and were responsible to the American people. Gregory was able to cite the "additional authority" of the Radio Act of 1912 which allowed the president to close or exercise control over radio stations in time of war, public peril or disaster[17] (a provision which was later included in the Radio Act of 1927[18] and the Communications Act of 1934[19]).

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[9] Arthur S. Link, *The Higher Realism of Woodrow Wilson and Other Essays* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), 129.

[10] William F. McCombs, *Making Woodrow Wilson President* (New York: Fairview Publishing Co., 1921), 180-81, 207-8.

[11] Edith Bolling Wilson, *My Memoir* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1939), 355-56.

[12] Woodrow Wilson, "'Mere Literature,'" *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1893, 823.

[13] Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government: A Study in American Politics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), xiii, xix-xxi; Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself: The Constitution in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 18-20, 169-70, 399.

[14] "An Address in Atlantic City to the National American Woman Suffrage Association," September 8, 1916, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 38: 162, 163.

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[15] "To Enforce Neutrality of Wireless Stations," August 5, 1914, in *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (New York: Bureau of National Literature, Inc., n.d.), 18: 7962.

[16] "Marconi Co. Denies Censoring is Legal," *New York Times*, August 23, 1914, 7; "Marconi Company Must Obey or Quit," ibid., September 20, 1914, 8. Wilson saw the stations as creating annoying complications in diplomacy. After breaking off relations with Germany early in 1917, he asked his secretary of the Navy to issue orders against allowing "the many people who want to run our foreign affairs for us" to use the wireless stations under Navy control for messages that could give misleading impressions and make war more likely. Woodrow Wilson to Josephus Daniels, February 8, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 41: 159. For background and analysis, see Susan J. Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting: 1899-1922* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 268-74.

[17] 30 Op. Att'y Gen. 291, 292-93 (1914). For the relevant portion of the Radio Act of 1912, see 37 Stat. 302, 303.

[18] 44 Stat. 1162, 1165.

[19] 48 Stat. 1064, 1104-5.

Marconi took its case to a federal district court which concluded that it lacked jurisdiction.[20]

As soon as the United States entered the war, Wilson cited "public safety" needs in issuing an executive order imposing Navy censorship of submarine cables and War Department censorship of telegraph and telephone lines.[21] Under the wartime authority given to the president by the Radio Act of 1912, almost all of the nation's civilian broadcast facilities were either shut down or turned over to the Navy.[22] Officials vied for permanent control of the medium as Navy supervision brought about technological improvements in radio and allowed the administration to broadcast its ideology to other nations through the high-power stations.[23] At a cabinet meeting on March 27, 1917, Josephus Daniels, a newspaper editor who was serving as secretary of the Navy, suggested that the Navy buy all the country's radio stations and "make wireless a government monopoly." Postmaster General Albert S. Burleson immediately served notice that radio must be under his department's control when the peace came. "Is that a threat or a prophecy?" Wilson asked. "It is a bluff or boast," Daniels responded.[24] The Navy secretary soon asked Congress for the authority to purchase the stations, but the bill died in committee after members pointed out that the Navy already controlled them. Daniels then angered Congress by using general Navy funds to buy the Marconi shore stations. After the armistice he proposed purchasing the rest of the nation's radio facilities and the Navy advocated government operation of telephone, telegraph and cable services as well, but by then the Republicans had gained control of both houses and the public had been fed up with federal direction of private industry during the war. The government had taken over the telephone system and the railroads with lamentable results and plans for nationalizing industries had inadequate support. After Marconi officials warned that the legislation would lead to government censorship of press and business messages, the bill was tabled in committee.[25]

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[20] "Marconi Suit Thrown Out," *New York Times*, October 9, 1914, 5.

[21] Exec. Order No. 2604 (1917).

[22] Erik Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel*, vol. 1 of *A History of Broadcasting in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 37.

[23] Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting*, 276-80. See also, James Schwoch, *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities, 1900-1939* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 31-55.

[24] From the diary of Josephus Daniels, March 27, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 41: 484.

A number of social reformers had hoped the war could be used to promote not only public ownership, but also progressive principles in general.[26] After the United States entered the war, Wilson thought the administration's information policies had serious "embarrassments of lack of coordination and single management" and that there were problems with the press that "nobody can control" and that had to be left to "take care of themselves" in the long run. "Unfortunately, personally," Wilson said to an assistant secretary of state, "I believe the proper cooperation of the newspapers to be impossible because of the small but powerful lawless elements among them who observe no rules, regard no understandings as binding, and act always as they please."[27]

Following the advice of cabinet members and journalists who thought that the emphasis should be on rallying Americans to the cause rather than implementing severe censorship like France and Britain, Wilson signed

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[25] Douglas, *Inventing American Broadcasting*, 279-85; "Mexican Wireless Depicted as Peril," *New York Times*, December 18, 1918, 17; "Wants Radios Returned," ibid., January 18, 1919, 18.

[26] David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 40.

[27] Woodrow Wilson to Breckinridge Long, November 20, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 45: 86, 87. For a similar comment made while he was seeking presidential censorship powers, see Woodrow Wilson to Edwin Yates Webb, May 22, 1917, in ibid., 42: 370.

Executive Order 2594 to create the Committee on Public Information. The CPI consisted of the secretaries of the state, war and the navy and a civilian chairman, George Creel. Creel was a zealous reformer and an experienced journalist who had produced campaign literature for Wilson's reelection in 1916. A strong advocate of American democratic principles,[28] Creel was appointed after he gave Wilson a memorandum saying that censorship is "offensive to Americans" and that the role of the new agency should be to gain the cooperation of the press in protecting the small amount of material "properly secret" and in publicizing the war effort. The government should not attempt to approve everything written for publication, Creel said, but could pass judgment on questionable stories voluntarily submitted and punish breaches of security.[29] Wilson expressed satisfaction with the memo[30] and Creel's organization soon began a massive campaign promoting nationalism and patriotism in every available medium.[31]

The CPI issued to the press a set of self-censorship guidelines that were edited by Wilson himself.[32] The guidelines created three categories of war journalism within the United States: dangerous matter which was not to be mentioned, questionable matter which was to be submitted to the committee for review prior to publication and matter which did not affect the war effort and was therefore "governed only by peacetime laws of libel, defamation of character, etc." Dangerous material included news on military operations in progress "except that officially given out." The questionable news categories were narrative accounts of military operations including life in training camps, information on defense technologies and rumors. Questionable stories that were submitted and approved were entitled to be marked "Passed by the Committee on Public Information."[33] A voluntary agreement also called for all still photographs and motion pictures dealing with the war to be submitted to the CPI for approval.[34] Creel publicly insisted that the CPI's emphasis was "ever on expression, not suppression" and that, in contrast to the news censorship in European countries, "no law stood behind these requests, compliance resting entirely upon honor and patriotism."[35] The guidelines were concerned with "human lives and national hopes," he said, and the enforcement was left to the press itself.[36]

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[28] On Creel and his committee, see Stephen L. Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

[29] A Memorandum by George Creel, an enclosure with Josephus Daniels to Woodrow Wilson, April 11, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 39-41.

[30] Woodrow Wilson to Josephus Daniels, April 12, 1917, in 42: 43.

[31] James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939). See also, Juergens, *News From the White House*, 167-204.

[32] Woodrow Wilson to George Creel, May 17, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 304-13. The version Wilson approved differs in some ways from the one published in the *Official Bulletin* on June 2, 1917.

The cooperation of the news and entertainment industries with the CPI was promoted as entirely voluntary,[37] but Creel was in a position to seek action against those who did not comply. He was a member of the Censorship Board which censored publications being exported or imported and had close connections to the Department of Justice, the military and the post office as well as to the War Trade Board which could cut off newsprint supplies and stop film exports.[38] Believing there "is a difference between free speech and seditious speech" and that people "have no right to kick against a law after Congress passes it," Creel denied that he was a censor[39] but regularly urged repression in his dealings with other bureaucrats[40] and at times confronted editors directly.[41] The CPI guidelines on news urged journalists to report violators "promptly and confidentially" and noted that those who did not clear questionable matter with the committee did so at their own risk and were "subject to any penalties that may be provided by law." Editors who rejected dangerous material were asked to report the incident in order to assist the Secret Service in detecting enemy agents. Victory rested upon "unity and confidence," the guidelines said, and "the term traitor is not too harsh" for journalists who neglected their responsibilities.[42] Some publications turned to the public for assistance. *Literary Digest*, for instance, noted what it regarded as "pro-German propaganda" in some newspapers and asked readers "to clip and send us any editorial utterances they encounter which seem to them seditious or treasonable."[43] Local vigilante organizations also placed the press under surveillance.[44]

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[33] "Statement to the Press of the United States," *Official Bulletin*, June 2, 1917, 12-15. For a revision of the guidelines, see "Requests for Censorship by Press of Certain War News, as Revised and Urged Upon All American Publishers, Are Given Out by the Committee on Public Information," *Official Bulletin*, December 31, 1917, 10, 16.

[34] *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 4; Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 211.

[35] *Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information*, 1, 10, 12. On the contrast with European censorship, see also "Statement to the Press of the United States," 12; George Creel, *How We Advertised America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920), 16-27. According to one CPI publication, "No disciplinary power abides in the Committee on Public Information and the committee assumes no responsibility for the enforcement of the requests." *National Service Handbook* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), 18.

[36] "Scope and Activities of Committee on Public Information Shown, in Report by Chairman Creel Made to the President," *Official Bulletin*, February 4, 1918, 10.

[37] According to a CPI statement on its news guidelines, "The Committee on Public Information is without legal authority or moral right to bring any form of pressure on publications to inforce observance of these requests." "Requests for Censorship by Press of Certain War News, as Revised and Urged Upon All American Publishers, Are Given Out by the Committee on Public Information," 10.

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[38] Juergens, *News From the White House*, 193-95; Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 218, 221, 224-25, 234; Mock and Larson, *Words That Won the War*, 20, 44, 46, 84, 142.

[39] "Creel Answers Some Pointed Queries," *Editor & Publisher*, May 18, 1918, 32. Wilson wanted Creel to control the publicity efforts of various government agencies, but at least one, Herbert Hoover's Food Administration, successfully resisted requests that news releases be submitted to the CPI for censorship. Hoover contended that his campaign for saving food was too remote from military matters to require any supervision. *The Memoirs of Ray Lyman Wilbur, 1875-1949*, ed. Edgar E. Robinson and Paul C. Edwards (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 261; Stephen Ponder, "Popular Propaganda: The Food Administration in World War I," *Journalism Quarterly* 72 (Autumn 1995): 544.

[40] Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 222-28.

[41] On one occasion, for example, an enraged Creel wired Hearst to demand his sources for a story on troopship defenses and to say that publishing the information was prohibited by law. Mock and Larson, *Words That Won the War*, 86.

[42] "Statement to the Press of the United States," 13, 14.

II.

Wilson expected the war to curtail civil liberties. He believed mortals could do little to prevent what God had ordained[45] and thought that the discarding of freedoms at a time of crisis was both necessary and inevitable. The night before he asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany, Wilson summoned *New York World* editor Frank Cobb to the White House for a soul-searching conversation that began in the early morning hours. The president told his friend and foremost advocate in journalism that Germany had forced him to act, but that he knew people would "'go war-mad, quit thinking and devote their energies to destruction.'" Maintaining that he had only a choice of evils, Wilson stated that free speech would disappear as the country put all its strength into the war. He would try to preserve democratic ideals, he said, but circumstances would require "'illiberalism at home to reinforce the men at the front.'" Wilson remarked that conformity would be "'the only virtue.'"[46]

Wilson thus tried to portray himself as reluctant to censor when talking to one of the country's premier editorial writers, but instead of being a check on suppressive legislation during World War I, the president and his cabinet encouraged it.[47] Wilson and the members of his administration worked with Congress to curtail freedom of expression.[48] Elaborate bureaucratic schemes for licensing and regulating war correspondents were discussed in military circles prior to World War I.[49] After the war broke out in Europe in 1914 the Army prepared a report titled "The Proper Relationship Between the Army and the Press in War" which described the restrictions being used by other countries and made recommendations for the United States. Based on a study ordered by the chief of staff, the document said the needs of the armed forces become "paramount" in war and the press "by adverse criticism, may tend to destroy the efficiency of these agencies." The report presented a draft bill for giving the president complete authority to impose censorship of military news "whenever in his judgment the defense of the country requires such action." In the absence of legislation at a time of national peril, the report said, the president should require censorship and, if necessary, declare "martial law to an extent necessary to effect arbitrary suppression of publication or communication of matter that might prove detrimental to national defense or useful to a possible enemy."[50]

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[43] "Treason's Twilight Zone," *Literary Digest*, June 9, 1917, 1763, 1765.

[44] Juergens, *News From the White House*, 189-90; Mock and Larson, *Words That Won the War*, 83.

[45] McCombs, *Making Woodrow Wilson President*, 208.

[46] John L. Heaton, *Cobb of "The World"* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1924), 267-70.

[47] Wilson was less interested in broad, European-style censorship than some members of his cabinet. Diary entry, April 6, 1917, in *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913-1921*, ed. E. David Cronon (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 130; From the diary of Josephus Daniels, April 17, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 90-91.

Immediately after Congress declared war in 1917 bills were drafted to provide the president with general authority to issue rules forbidding the publication of information useful to the enemy.[51] Despite Wilson's assurance that the power would not be used to punish criticism of the administration[52] and language in the proposed legislation to that effect, political opponents in Congress feared that presidential censorship could be used against them[53] and that mistakes would be covered up.[54] Rep. Fiorello La Guardia of New York reminded the House of the scandals of 1898 and said that the press could help expose the "domestic enemy who is willing to turn American blood into gold and sell rotten cornbeef, wormy beans, paper shoes, defective arms for our American boys." He said that it was the responsibility of the military not to reveal secret information in the first place and that the restrictions being proposed would be a "flagrant and daring violation" of the spirit of the First Amendment.[55] Rep. Henry A. Cooper of Wisconsin observed that Congress could make "no law" abridging press freedom and could not give authority over the press to executive branch which was "not to make laws but only to execute them." The First Amendment, he said, "is clear, explicit, and what is equally important, it is mandatory."[56]

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[48] See Margaret A. Blanchard, *Revolutionary Sparks: Freedom of Expression in Modern America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 71-109.

[49] See, for example, Frank Geere, "The Government of War Correspondents," *Journal of the Military Service* 44 (May-June 1909): 401-18.

[50] U.S. War College Division, General Staff Corps, *The Proper Relationship Between the Army and the Press in War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 5, 12.

[51] For a convenient compilation of the legislative history, see the notes accompanying Josephus Daniels to Woodrow Wilson, April 11, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 39; Woodrow Wilson to Josephus Daniels, April 12, 1917, in ibid., 43; Joseph Patrick Tumulty to Woodrow Wilson, April 20, 1917, in ibid., 106-7; Joseph Patrick Tumulty to Woodrow Wilson, May 8, 1917, in ibid., 244-47; Woodrow Wilson to Edwin Yates Webb, May 22, 1917, in ibid., 369-70.

Newspaper journalists were quick to express their apprehensions in meetings with cabinet members[57] and on their editorial pages where the proposed authority was characterized as more appropriate for the Kaiser or the Czar.[58] Sensing that support was being squandered at a critical time,

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[52] For Wilson's statement to an influential Hearst editor that he would not permit the law to be used as a shield against criticism, see Woodrow Wilson to Arthur Brisbane, April 25, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 129.

[53] For the view that Congress was more concerned with preserving partisan criticism than with the ideal of a free press when it rejected Wilson's request, see Kennedy, *Over Here*, 25-26.

[54] See, for example, *Congressional Record*, vol. 55, pt. 2, 1751-52, 1753, 1777, 1778. Some Democrats also saw the dangers in censorship. See, for example, ibid., 2004, 2008.

[55] Congress, House, 65th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (May 2, 1917), vol. 55, pt. 2, 1700, 1701. For other references to 1898, see ibid., 1716, 1753, 1764-65, 1772.

[56] Congress, House, 65th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record* (May 3, 1917), vol. 55, pt. 2, 1778.

[57] Diary entry, April 2, 1917, in Cronon, ed., *The Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels*, 127.

[58] For samples of the press reaction, see Juergens, *News From the White House*, 190-91; John Lofton, *The Press as Guardian of the First Amendment* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 172-73.

White House adviser Joseph Tumulty informed the president that even the administration's strongest backers in the press were upset. "The experience of the Administration of President Adams in fostering the Alien and Sedition laws bids us beware of this whole business," Tumulty warned.[59] Members of Congress echoed the charge that Wilson was seeking autocratic power.[60]

Congress was willing to expand many areas of executive authority in 1917, but, in spite of strenuous administration lobbying, did not cater to Wilson's desire for presidential power over the press. During the debates Secretary of State Robert Lansing caused a furor by ordering the lower-ranking officials in his department not to give the press any information at all. Attorney General Gregory angered the press further by giving members of Congress a Justice Department memo purporting to reveal enemy influence in the nation's journalism. House Republicans agreed in caucus to resist newspaper censorship in any form and many Democrats failed to support the president in a series of votes.[61] Hoping to find a compromise, presidential confidant Frank Cobb told Wilson that the "censorship controversy has been so unfortunate that I know you will be eager to consider any proposal that gives promise."[62] With his characteristic obstinacy, Wilson refused to yield and told the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee that prepublication newspaper censorship was "absolutely necessary to the public safety,"[63] but Congress, after many hours of debate, refused to give him the authority.

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[59] Joseph P. Tumulty to Woodrow Wilson, May 8, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 245-46.

[60] For examples of the charge that Wilson wanted autocratic power, see *Congressional Record*, vol. 55, pt. 2, 1715, 1752, 1771, 1777, 2004.

[61] "Lansing Closes Sources of News of America's Foreign Relationships," *New York Times*, May 8, 1917, 1; Seward W. Livermore, *Politics is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 32-37.

[62] Frank Irving Cobb to Woodrow Wilson, May 22, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 371.

[63] Woodrow Wilson to Edwin Yates Webb, May 22, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 369-70.

Laws were soon passed, however, to punish the expression of virtually any dissenting views.[64] Under the Espionage Act of 1917, individuals were sentenced to as many as 20 years in prison for expressing opinions regarded as disloyal or obstructive to the war effort and critical publications could be declared unmailable.[65] Thus, mailing privileges were denied to all of the National Civil Liberties Bureau pamphlets including *Freedom of Speech and of the Press* which a postal inspector thought had an inappropriate topic for debate in wartime.[66] The Sedition Act of 1918 amended the Espionage Act to include a greater number of thoughts which could not be expressed (including contempt for the government, the Constitution, the armed forces, the flag and military uniforms) and to allow the postmaster general to refuse to deliver mail to anyone he thought was violating the statute.[67] Thus, publications that did not conform to an official's sense of patriotism could be denied subscription renewals and other business letters without even a hearing. The Trading with the Enemy Act passed in 1917 required foreign-language publications to submit English translations of any writings dealing with the government or the war to a postmaster on or before the date of mailing, a burdensome requirement that could be waived by the president for publications deemed not detrimental to the war effort. The statute also authorized the president to censor mail and all other communications between the United States and other countries whenever he thought "public safety" required it.[68] A Censorship Board set up by executive order[69] oversaw a coordinated and comprehensive effort of government agencies to control the flow of information and ideas into and out of the United States. Materials with radical opinions were not allowed to enter the country and those that might be embarrassing, such as publications of the Free Press Defense League of Aurora, Missouri, could be prevented from leaving.[70]

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[64] For a summary of World War I restrictions, see Michael Linfield, *Freedom Under Fire: U.S. Civil Liberties in Times of War* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), 33-67.

[65] 40 Stat. 217, 219, 230.

[66] Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States*, 168.

[67] 40 Stat. 553, 554.

[68] 40 Stat. 411, 413, 425-26.

[69] Exec. Order No. 2729-A (1917).

The scope of postal authority over the press was construed broadly.[71] Postmaster General Burleson stated that publications would not be allowed to "impugn the motives of the Government" or "say that the Government is controlled by Wall Street or munition manufacturers." Burleson said, "We will not permit the publication or circulation of anything hampering the war's prosecution or attacking improperly our allies."[72] The postmaster general's power was upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in a case brought by the *Milwaukee Leader*, a socialist paper that had its second-class mail privilege revoked. In an opinion that cited articles condemning the allies and arguing that the government was plutocratic and the president was autocratic, Justice John H. Clarke, a Wilsonian Progressive, wrote that the First Amendment did not protect words the court regarded as false and deliberately intended to encourage illegal acts, disloyalty and the giving of aid and comfort to enemies. "The Constitution was adopted to preserve our Government," the opinion said, "not to serve as a protecting screen for those who while claiming its privileges seek to destroy it." Clarke insisted that second-class rates were "special favors" that the government bestowed to the press and could deny to its "insidious foes."[73] Dissents by Justices Brandeis and Holmes decried the ease with which postal officials could withhold a vital service to periodicals and denied that the law provided authority to interfere with future circulation on the basis of what they were likely to publish.[74]

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[70] Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 221-22, 224-25.

[71] For the legislative histories and court interpretations of the statutes, see Dorothy G. Fowler, *Unmailable: Congress and the Post Office* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 109-25; Jon Bekken, "'These Great and Dangerous Powers': Postal Censorship of the Press," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 15 (Winter 1991): 55-71. On the role of officials, see Donald Johnson, "Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (February 1962): 46-58.

[72] Frederic L. Paxson, Edward S. Corwin and Samuel B. Harding, eds., *War Cyclopedia: A Handbook for Ready Reference on the Great War* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 163. For a similar version of Burleson's views, see A. S. Burleson, "Postmaster General Explains to Editor Purpose and Operation of New Law," *Editor & Publisher*, October 6, 1917, 5.

President Wilson's indifference to the liberties of nonconformist periodicals was displayed in a letter to Max Eastman, the Socialist publisher of *The Masses*, who had written to the president to protest that soldiers had broken up a meeting he was addressing and had threatened to lynch him and that his magazine had lost its mailing privileges for allegedly promoting resistance to the draft. Wilson blandly replied, "I think that a time of war must be regarded as wholly exceptional and that it is legitimate to regard things which would in ordinary circumstances be innocent as very dangerous to the public welfare." Observing that it was difficult to say what should and should not be permitted, he said that "a line must be drawn" even if done "clumsily."[75] Wilson thus maintained, without citing any authority, that a wartime exception existed to the guarantee of a free press and that the government could make restrictions on expression when they were deemed necessary. Wilson was eventually backed by a series of Supreme Court cases involving the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 which reached essentially the same conclusion.[76]

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[73] Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co. v. Burleson, 255 U.S. 407, 410, 413-14, 416 (1921).

[74] Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co. v. Burleson, 255 U.S. 407, 436 (Brandeis, J., dissenting); Milwaukee Social Democratic Publishing Co. v. Burleson, 255 U.S. 407, 437-38 (Holmes, J., dissenting).

[75] Max Eastman to Woodrow Wilson, September 8, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 44: 169-172; Woodrow Wilson to Max Eastman, September 18, 1917, in ibid., 210-11. Wilson had earlier tried to intercede on behalf of the *Masses*, but was rebuffed by Postmaster General Albert Sidney Burleson who told him that the actions taken by the post office were proper under the Espionage Act and that the publication had brought suit in federal district court. Woodrow Wilson to Albert Sidney Burleson, with Enclosure, July 13, 1917, in ibid., 43: 164-65; Albert Sidney Burleson to Woodrow Wilson, July 16, 1917, in ibid., 187-89. Saying that press freedom meant only freedom from prior restraint, a federal Court of Appeals ruled the use of the Espionage Act of 1917 against *The Masses* was not a violation of the First Amendment. Masses Pub. Co. v. Patten, 246 F. 24 (2d. Cir. 1917). For background on *The Masses* and the legal cases which resulted from its suppression, see John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, *The Magazine in America, 1741-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 125-30.

While weak, radical or foreign-language publications took a battering, the more powerful, more mainstream press remained relatively safe,[77] even when angering the authorities and the public. One of the most frequent offenders was the *Washington Post* which Wilson blamed for causing embarrassment in diplomatic relations with allies and which had a tendency to reveal military movements and developments in weaponry.[78] Another problem was newspaper chain owner William Randolph Hearst who wanted the country to stay out of the war. Although he was a sensational, saber-rattling publisher in 1898,[79] Hearst was Anglophobic and adverse to having American casualties on the other side of the Atlantic. Press and public opposition to involvement abroad was widespread when Wilson campaigned for reelection in 1916, but was not acceptable after the president asked

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[76] See David Rabban, "The Emergence of Modern First Amendment Doctrine," *University of Chicago Law Review* 50 (Fall 1983): 1205-1355.

[77] Arguing against censorship laws, George Creel, a person who had difficulty admitting that he participated in repression, remarked after the war that it is the tendency of such legislation "to operate solely against the weak and powerless" and to slip "over into the field of opinion, for arbitrary power grows by what it feeds on." Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 17.

[78] Woodrow Wilson to Edward Beale McLean, July 12, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 43: 154; Woodrow Wilson to Breckinridge Long, November 20, 1917, in ibid., 45: 86-87; Juergens, *News From the White House*, 187-88.

[79] Hearst sent artist Frederic Remington to Havana in 1898 to draw the action, but, according to one account, Remington found little happening and wanted to return to the United States. Scholars still debate whether Hearst responded: "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." Dom Bonafede, "Hearst Didn't Send Cable to Remington," *New York Times*, August 1, 1991, A14 (Midwest edition); Frederic A. Moritz, "Source for Hearst War Cable is Credible," ibid., August 20, 1991, A18. For a denial by Hearst's son, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., see Debra Gersh, "A Journalism Legend Revisited," *Editor & Publisher*, December 14, 1991, 14.

Congress for a declaration of war on April 2, 1917.[80] The newspapers in Hearst's chain, accused of being pro-German, lost revenue and Hearst himself was publicly denounced and burned in effigy. The administration kept the press lord under surveillance and a federal agent was placed as butler in his home,[81] but the Democratic president refused to allow legal action against the erstwhile Democratic politician, saying that nothing proved "that Mr. Hearst had overstepped the bounds of law, outrageous as he has been."[82]

III.

The plainly arbitrary enforcement of the various statutes[83] severely hampered[84] or silenced many publications,[85] but the repression was also damaging to Wilson and his party. A number of the president's supporters already felt betrayed after backing him in 1916 when his campaign slogan had been that he "kept the country out of war,"[86] but Wilson received a spate of warnings on his efforts to crush dissent. One of the most blunt letters came from Allen W. Ricker, publisher of *Pearson's Magazine,* who, after complaining about Post Office interference with his mail, said, "A political graveyard is being prepared in the public mind for a long list of men holding office in Washington."[87] Herbert Croly, the Wilsonian editor of the *New Republic,* told the president that intelligent, moderate men "who have constituted the best element in your following in the past" were abandoning him because they considered the suppression of publications "an issue of importance scarcely inferior to that of the war itself."[88] In response to many more such alerts,[89] Wilson told Postmaster General Burleson that he wanted the "utmost caution and liberality in all our censorship,"[90] but meekly accepted Burleson's replies that he was only enforcing laws passed by Congress in accordance with court decisions.[91] Wilson, who had to work with Congress and who relied on the skills of the postmaster general in political patronage,[92] defended Burleson, who threatened to resign if he could not have his way,[93] by saying he was misunderstood and was trying to be judicious in the exercise of his powers.[94] By placing himself squarely in the middle of the issue, Wilson pleased neither side.

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[80] According to one leading magazine's analysis of newspaper editorials, Wilson's speech asking for a declaration of war "worked a miracle of crystallization and unification in American sentiment" and even caused the Hearst papers to back the president's stand. "War for Democracy," *Literary Digest,* April 14, 1917, 1043-44.

[81] W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), 306, 312-13.

[82] Woodrow Wilson to Albert Sidney Burleson, October 4, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson,* 44: 302.

[83] On the uneven enforcement, see Kennedy, *Over Here,* 83; Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States,* 116-17.

[84] Approximately 60 socialist publications lost their second-class mailing privileges. Fowler, *Unmailable,* 115.

[85] Kennedy, *Over Here,* 76-77. Case studies include Mick Mulcrone, "'Those Miserable Little Hounds': World War I Postal Censorship of the *Irish World,*" *Journalism History* 20 (Spring 1994): 15-24; Allen M. Ruff, "Repression of the Press in the World War I Era: The Case of Charles H. Kerr & Company," *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History* 5 (Spring 1989): 2-19.

[86] Samuel Walker, *In Defense of American Liberties: A History of the ACLU* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 17.

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[87] Allen W. Ricker to Woodrow Wilson, August 3, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 43: 382.

[88] Herbert David Croly to Woodrow Wilson, October 19, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 44: 408.

[89] Other cautionary letters included Lillian D. Wald and others to Woodrow Wilson, April 16, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 42: 118-19; Max Eastman and others to Woodrow Wilson, July 12, 1917, in ibid., 43: 165; W. I. Irvine and Paul Hanna to Woodrow Wilson, August 4, 1917, in ibid., 383; Oswald Garrison Villard to Joseph Patrick Tumulty, September 26, 1917, in ibid., 44: 271-73; Daniel W. Hoan to Woodrow Wilson, October 4, 1917, in ibid., 339-40; Grenville Stanley Macfarland to Woodrow Wilson, October 12, 1917, in ibid., 366; John Spargo to Woodrow Wilson, November 1, 1917, in ibid., 491-92; John Nevin Sayre to Woodrow Wilson, September 19, 1918, in ibid., 51: 77.

[90] Woodrow Wilson to Albert Sidney Burleson, October 11, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 44: 358. See also, Woodrow Wilson to Albert Sidney Burleson, October 18, 1917, in ibid., 397-98; Woodrow Wilson to Albert Sidney Burleson, October 30, 1917, in ibid., 472-73; Woodrow Wilson to Albert Sidney Burleson, September 16, 1918, in ibid., 51: 12.

[91] See, for example, Albert Sidney Burleson to Woodrow Wilson, July 16, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 43: 187-88; Albert Sidney Burleson to Woodrow Wilson, October 16, 1917, in ibid., 44: 389-90.

[92] Burleson demoted and dismissed black postal employees in the South to open opportunities for loyal white Democrats. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States*, 97.

[93] Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1939), 7: 165.

Wilson not only had to spend a considerable amount of presidential time explaining administration actions against dissent and dealing with responses to particular cases, but also suffered a loss of reputation with fellow writers and intellectuals who found repression foolish. Saying that "suppression convinces nobody" and weakens patriotic enthusiasm, Upton Sinclair asked the president, "What good does it do us to fight for freedom abroad if, in the mean time, we are losing it at home?" Sinclair, who had cut his ties to socialism to support American entry into the war, said he did not think expression should be unrestricted when the nation had to protect itself, but that Wilson's subordinates were using methods that were too autocratic and divisive.[95] Walter Lippmann advised the administration that the actions were reducing liberal and radical support and said that the government "ought to suppress only military secrets and advice to break the law or evade it." Calling for a more tolerant and imaginative approach to censorship, Lippmann alluded to "the long record of folly which is the history of suppression."[96]

Wilson had been narrowly reelected in 1916 by a left-wing coalition that included socialists and radicals, but the administration's attacks on civil liberties played a significant role in the crumbling of his base of support.[97] With many of his former allies disillusioned and the public in general annoyed by various domestic actions, Wilson fought for political survival. The Republicans gained majorities in the House and Senate in 1918 despite Wilson's call for a Democratic Congress to back his vision of the postwar future.[98] A few days after the election George Creel, chairman of the Committee on Public Information which had spread the Wilsonian gospel of progressive democracy around the world during the war, told the dejected president that the blame could be assigned to the repressive activities of the Justice Department and Post Office. "All the radical, or liberal friends of your anti-imperialist war policy were either silenced or intimidated," Creel said, adding that if Wilson wanted to sell his program for peace, then the "liberal, radical, progressive, labor and socialist press will have to be rallied to the President's support."[99] John Palmer Gavit, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, told Wilson he was "not having now the liberal backing that is your right" because of civil liberties concerns and urged the president to "uplift and electrify the liberal forces in this and other countries" by freeing everyone convicted for expression of opinion.[100]

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[94] See, for example, Woodrow Wilson to Grenville Stanley Macfarland, October 18, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 44: 397; Woodrow Wilson to Herbert David Croly, October 22, 1917, in ibid., 420.

[95] Upton Beall Sinclair to Woodrow Wilson, October 22, 1917, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 44: 467-72.

[96] Walter Lippmann to Edward Mandell House, October 17 [1917], in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 44: 393-94. Colonel House, Wilson's close friend and adviser, gave Lippmann's letter to the president saying that more harm than good could easily be done by suppression and that he should deal with issue himself because Burleson "could never have a proper understanding of it." Edward Mandell House to Woodrow Wilson, October 17, 1917, in ibid., 392-93.

Wilson was unyielding when pressed to give a general amnesty for political prisoners. He provided encouragement to those who made the pleas, but put off a decision,[101] preferring to follow the advice of Attorney General Gregory and commute a number of sentences.[102] When Clarence Darrow petitioned the president for the release of the Socialist leader and journalist Eugene V. Debs, the famed lawyer said he knew "that self-preservation is the first law of nations," but that once a war was over it was possible to consider a person's motives and that Debs had sincerely felt it was his duty to oppose the war.[103] The president, however, went along with a new attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, who opposed the release because he thought the action would be exploited by opponents of the Versailles Treaty.[104] Wilson did send Burleson a two-sentence message saying that he did not believe "that it would be wise to do any more suppressing" and that it would be necessary to "meet these poisons in some other way," but at the bottom of the note Burleson wrote: "Continued to suppress and Courts sustained me every time."[105] Wilson appeared to be on the verge of declaring an amnesty[106] when, in September 1919, he had a debilitating stroke while touring the country in his desperate campaign for ratification of the peace treaty and the League of Nations by the Republican Senate. A year later the Republicans won the presidential election in a landslide and increased their majorities in Congress, ushering in a period of "normalcy" marked by the upsurge of the Ku Klux Klan and other illiberal movements.

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[97] See Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), viii-x.

[98] Livermore, *Politics is Adjourned*, 245-47.

[99] George Creel to Woodrow Wilson, November 8, 1918, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 51: 645. For similar sentiments, see Oswald Garrison Villard to Joseph Patrick Tumulty, November 8, 1918, in ibid., 646.

[100] John Palmer Gavit to Woodrow Wilson, February 24, 1919, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 55: 255. For a similar plea which warned Wilson that he needed the support of radical groups for the League of Nations, see Dudley Field Malone to Woodrow Wilson, February 28, 1919, in ibid., 337-38.

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[101] Knock, *To End All Wars*, 237-38, 255-56; Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931), 843.

[102] The Attorney General denied that anyone had been convicted for merely expressing opinion, but urged executive clemency in some cases. Thomas Watt Gregory to Woodrow Wilson, March 1, 1919, in ibid., 345-47. By July 1919 the sentences of more than 100 people convicted under the Espionage Act were commuted. Alexander Mitchell Palmer to Woodrow Wilson, July 30, 1919, in ibid., 62: 58.

[103] Clarence Seward Darrow to Woodrow Wilson, July 29, 1919, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 62: 58-59.

[104] Alexander Mitchell Palmer to Woodrow Wilson, July 30, 1919, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 62: 58.

[105] Woodrow Wilson to Albert Sidney Burleson, February 28, 1919, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 55: 327.

[106] Woodrow Wilson to Alexander Mitchell Palmer, August 29, 1919, in Link, ed., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 62: 555; Woodrow Wilson to John Spargo, August 29, 1919, in ibid., 559.

Ironically, one person who appeared to favor free expression more than the idealistic Wilson was his Republican successor in office, Warren G. Harding. A party regular whose pleasant personality and atrocious speaking style made him a sharp contrast to Wilson, Harding had no delusions about his own greatness, but he was an Ohio newspaper publisher who evidently saw the press as less of a threat. As a senator Harding was a leader in the successful fight against presidential censorship that portrayed the plan as repugnant to American principles and as a dangerous extension of executive power.[107] After he became president in 1921, second class mailing permits were granted to the radical publications that had been hounded by the Wilson administration.[108] When journalist Lincoln Steffens approached him about a general amnesty for wartime dissenters and labor activists, Harding said he would go along with the idea if Steffens could get two particular members of his cabinet to agree. When Steffens got an emphatic refusal from Herbert Hoover and another cabinet secretary, Harding, who evidently expected the result, had a "loud and sardonic" laugh and then showed him a pardon for Debs that his attorney general had prepared. Steffens remarked that he would not pardon anyone who would subscribe to the kind of "dirt-eating promise" the document required and Debs was pardoned without any conditions.[109]

Woodrow Wilson was not the first or last president to discover the costs of wartime suppression. The Sedition Act of 1798, which virtually outlawed criticism of government during hostilities with France, was a key factor in the downfall of John Adams and the Federalists in the elections of

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[107] Livermore, *Politics is Adjourned*, 35.
[108] Juergens, *News From the White House*, 204.
[109] Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, 843-44.

1800.[110] Attempts to punish copperhead journalists during the Civil War gave ammunition to Abraham Lincoln's detractors in the North and the South and help to account for Republican election losses in 1862.[111] During the Vietnam War, Richard Nixon's contempt for his critics and violations of their rights cost him his presidency.[112] In acting against what he regarded as subversive forces, Woodrow Wilson expended so much political capital that he found himself struggling futilely and pathetically at the end of his presidency. He lost his support in Congress, his health and his dreams for the postwar world. Politicians who are tempted to undertake suppression as a shortcut to success should find such cases instructive.

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[110] See James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956). General histories of the period include Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); James Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). A concise overview which makes use of political cartoons and other visual materials is Margaret C. S. Christman, *"The Spirit of Party": Hamilton and Jefferson at Odds* (Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1992).

[111] Frank L. Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 17-23.

[112] See J. Anthony Lukas, *Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years* (New York: Viking Press, 1976).

WARREN PRICE AWARD

COXEY'S ARMY
AND THE ARGUS-EYED DEMONS OF HELL:

SENSATIONALISM AND THE SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP OF PRESS AND PUBLICITY SEEKERS IN NEWS COVERAGE OF THE 1894 MARCH ON WASHINGTON

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When Chicago Record reporter Ray Stannard Baker arrived at a farmhouse outside Massillon, Ohio, in March 1894, he thought the bizarre-looking man who greeted him was "too good to be true."[1]

Carl Browne, seated beside a mountain of letters, telegrams and newspapers piled on the home's dining room table, was strongly built and heavy. His face resembled Buffalo Bill's, except Browne had fleshy cheeks and a hint of jowl beneath the beard he combed into two spirals. His clothes were those of a Wild West showman: a fringed, leather coat; tight, knee-length cavalry boots; and breeches. Securing the coat were buttons fashioned from Mexican silver coins stamped with the word "Free."[2] Browne considered himself a gentleman, so out of respect for Baker he probably had removed his creased sombrero to reveal his perpetually dirty hair. Browne bathed infrequently, and the habit had earned him the nickname "Old Greasy."[3] Browne handed his guest a card that said, "The pen is mightier than the sword."[4]

That day in the home of sand merchant Jacob Coxey, who with Browne's help was planning a mass march of unemployed people to Washington, D.C., Baker recognized the elements of a major story centered on the bizarre Browne and the bookish Coxey. "Coxey's Army," as the demonstration came to be called, was a sensational yet factual event, virtually guaranteed to draw readership day after day during the highly competitive era of 1890s journalism. In fact, over the next month and a half, the march generated more newspaper coverage than any other event between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, with the possible exception of the disputed presidential election of 1876.[5]

This paper presents the newspaper coverage of Coxey's Army as an early example of a national publicity campaign dependent on electronic, coast-to-coast communication. It argues that Coxey and Browne obtained massive press coverage -- despite widespread ridicule of their ideas -- by creating pseudo-events,[6] encouraging sensationalism, and providing a steady source of entertaining news during a time when most reporters were paid according to the length and number of their stories. The paper draws mainly on a previously ignored source of information about Browne's work as a publicist -- Coxey's hometown newspaper, The Evening Independent of Massillon, Ohio -- in an examination of the symbiotic relationship of Browne and the press in the creation of Coxey's Army. The paper also uses a variety of primary and secondary sources, including the recently unearthed scrapbook of Wilbur Miller, one of the reporters who marched with Coxey, in analyzing the press coverage of Coxey's Army. The paper presents the coverage as a case study of the influence of economics, technology and reportorial conventions on newspaper journalism at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Civil War and the necessity of gathering and writing the news from its widely scattered battlefields helped broaden the role of reporters relative to editors at American newspapers.[7] According to historian Hazel Dicken-Garcia, by the 1880s writing and reporting had become recognized as the most important parts of a newspaper, attracting readers with entertaining and informative news stories.[8] Toward the end of the nineteenth century journalists were "driven to get every detail that might satisfy curiosity, heighten thrill and sell newspapers."[9] Dicken-Garcia says readers had grown accustomed to dramatic writing during the war and continued to demand excitement in their newspapers after the war's conclusion in 1865. Reporters attempted to provide satisfaction by emphasizing plot and drama -- focusing on the story in the news story.[10] Editors and publishers expected reporters to exhibit enterprise, be aggressively resourceful in getting stories and be lively in their writing.[11] The trend toward excitement and sensational writing, especially as tools to gain readership in multiple-newspaper cities such as New York, peaked in the "yellow journalism" of the 1890s, which historian Edwin Emery characterized as "shrieking, gaudy . . . [and] devil-may-care."[12] Such sensationalism had its limits, however. Despite the emphasis on lively writing, most journalists tried to provide readers with truthful, inoffensive stories.[13] Such was the case with the Argus-Eyed Demons of Hell, the roughly two dozen reporters who marched with Coxey's Army from

Ohio to Washington. Although their writing was colorful, dramatic and sometimes shallow, it also was mostly truthful.

Historian Ted Curtis Smythe argues that financial forces pressured reporters toward inflating the length, if not the significance, of their stories in the late nineteenth century. Reporters of the 1880s and 1890s commonly were paid by the total number of inches of their stories that appeared in print. Those whom editors assigned to track down a story but failed to do so were paid a much lower hourly rate. The system "rewarded those who could gather and present exciting news; the time rate was so minimal that reporters were tempted to create stories when news was not generated in the normal course of events," Smythe says.[14] Newspaper reports and other sources that are detailed below include examples of reporters declining to identify a march organizer known as "the Great Unknown" because the mystery of his identity made a good story; reporters discussing the possibility of hiring circus performers to march with Coxey and make his army appear larger that it actually was; an editor ordering his reporter to focus on the drama and gossip of the march; and a stringer receiving a pay-per-inch contract before filing his first story.

The end of the century also saw continuing debate on the level of the press's professionalism, with some arguing that journalists were a cornerstone of democracy while others, such as Harvard University President Charles William Eliot, viewing reporters as drunks and rogues[15] -- a characterization supported by the behavior of the Argus-Eyed Demons, who got drunk while traveling with Coxey and called themselves "blooming reprobates."

Journalism's low pay and spotted reputation created an incentive for late-nineteenth century reporters to view their jobs as springboards to careers in politics, business and other professions, and the reporters who covered Coxey's Army were no exception. They included Baker, who became President Woodrow Wilson's aide and biographer, and Robert Peet Skinner, who led the first diplomatic mission to Ethiopia and became Stalin-era diplomat George Kennan's boss at the Baltic consulates in the 1930s.

The pressure on reporters to tell lively and accurate stories day after day is evident in the way Browne and Coxey shaped the coverage of their march. It also explains Browne's appeal to Baker and other reporters.

Besides possessing his eye-catching Buffalo Bill wardrobe, Browne was a spellbinding orator, a seller of patent medicine ("Carl's California Cure [made by] Carl Browne, man's mightiest microbe master"[16]), a journalist in California and Nebraska, and a religious fanatic who told reporters he had absorbed the soul of his dead wife and part of the soul of Jesus.[17] Reporters found Browne more interesting than Coxey, whom Baker described as a quiet man with "an oily face, a straw-colored moustache, and gold-bowed spectacles. He did not impress me as a great leader of a revolutionary movement."[18]

What Coxey lacked in charisma he made up for in compassion. Coxey had made a fortune quarrying sand near Massillon and selling it to steel and glass furnace operators, yet his heart went out to the millions of less-fortunate people who had lost their jobs in the depression of 1893-94. He met a kindred spirit in Browne at the 1893 Chicago convention of the Bimetallic League, which advocated free and unlimited coinage of silver as the solution to the country's economic woes. Browne impressed Coxey with his knowledge about money, and Coxey invited him to be his guest for a few months in Massillon. During the winter of 1893-94, they reached an agreement.[19] Coxey would bankroll a march of jobless men nearly 400 miles from Massillon to Washington, D.C., and Browne would publicize it and lead it.[20]

Coxey planned to stand on the steps of the U.S. Capitol on May 1, 1894, and read a speech urging Congress to hire the unemployed to build roads and public buildings -- an idea that Coxey said had come to him one night when his buggy got stuck in the mud. He wanted to finance the work with $500 million in non-interest-bearing bonds. The bonds would lack the backing of gold with which the Treasury essentially guaranteed the value of paper money in the late nineteenth century. Thus, Coxey's plan, designed to put people to work, to increase the amount of money in circulation and to get the economy moving again, rested on the theory that money had value merely because the government said it did. The Union had tested this idea successfully during the financial emergency of the Civil War, but it had not been tried during the ensuing peace.[21]

Coxey and Browne's call for a march of unemployed men to Washington had no precedent.[22] Its surprising appeal can be understood only in light of the serious depression that gripped the country.

Before the 1930s, downturns in the economy were known as "panics," and the biggest one by far occurred in 1894.[23] The federal government did not keep unemployment statistics then, but eighty years later it estimated that joblessness had risen from 3 percent in 1892 to more than 18 percent two years later.[24] The 1894 unemployment rate was the sixth-highest in all of American history, topped only by five years in the 1930s.[25] People who were thrown out of work in the 1890s were expected to seek private handouts, as neither the Democratic nor the Republican party leaders embraced the idea of federal assistance for the thousands of people who roamed the country in search of work.

Adding to the nation's misery were long-term trends in prices, interest rates and agriculture. From the Civil War to the early 1890s, prices fell, the money supply stagnated, and farmers either suffered through drought in bad years (such as in Kansas and Nebraska in 1893) or saturated their markets through overproduction in good years.[26] In 1893 and 1894, a bushel of wheat, which had cost a farmer fifty cents to raise, sold for thirty to forty cents at a grain elevator.[27] The price of wholesale farm products declined more than 50 percent from 1865 to 1890, and the consumer price index fell about 30 percent in the same period.[28] Farmers who borrowed after the Civil War to begin farming in the territories and new Western states repaid their debts in dollars that were steadily being deflated -- in other words, dollars that had more purchasing power than the ones they borrowed. Thus, farmers in the late nineteenth century were caught between falling prices and fixed interest rates, and in some states it seemed as if whole counties passed through foreclosure in the early 1890s.[29] Six hundred banks failed in 1893.[30]

The nation agonized over the problems. It split into two camps: gold and silver.

Advocates of gold wanted a conservative management of the economy, a continuation of a strong relationship between gold and the value of money, and an end to the Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The act required the government to buy 4.5 million ounces of silver per month and to issue notes backed by the white metal.[31] Under this law, debtors could redeem their new silver-backed notes in gold. And under a previous law, they could continue to redeem in gold the emergency-issue, Civil War "greenbacks" that were still in circulation. Gold flowed from the U.S. Treasury.[32] After April 22, 1893, when the Treasury's gold supply fell below $100 million -- a round figure that President Grover Cleveland said Americans regarded with sentiment and concern -- conservatives including Cleveland decided that the way to repair the overall economy was to set the government's finances in order.[33] Conservatives feared a depletion of gold reserves because they wanted every paper dollar in circulation to represent a dollar's worth of precious metal in a bank. They believed the economy would be stable as long as all, or nearly all, of that metal continued to be gold.[34]

Advocates of silver primarily were agrarian reformers known as Populists. They wanted to boost the amount of silver relative to gold in circulation. They believed that "bimetallism," a two-metal standard of monetary value, would inflate the economy and help the debt-bedeviled working classes.

Meanwhile, as the economy was sliding toward conditions that would leave 4 million people jobless, the news media were using new technology to expand their mass audience. Telephones, invented two decades earlier, had become a newsgathering tool but remained far from universal in homes and offices. The 1894 phone number of The Evening Independent, for example, consisted of only two digits, six and zero.[35] Journalists relied heavily on telegraph wires to carry messages from city to city -- much as they had in 1881, when the telegraph allowed Eastern newspaper readers to follow every change in President James Garfield's condition for eleven weeks as he lay dying of an assassin's bullet. A major user of telegraph lines was the wire service that became known as the Associated Press. Between 1892 and 1894 it won its battles to absorb or cripple its major rivals.[36] On March 15, 1894, the day that Baker arrived in Massillon, the AP announced that it had begun coast-to-coast operations. An enlarged system of leased wires allowed the AP to move stories beyond its previous Western outpost at Denver and have instant access to cities in California and the Pacific Northwest.[37]

Individually, newspaper publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst combined these new technologies with the techniques of yellow journalism to help build huge circulations in the 1890s. Theirs was a war of supremacy. Small papers, on the other hand, battled over readership just to survive the depression. They used sensationalism, too.[38]

So did Coxey and Browne. Their first sensation was their call for a federal relief bill. On December 7, 1893, they published at Coxey's expense a pamphlet called "Bulletin No. 1 of the Good Roads Association." It encapsulated Coxey's vision of highway jobs for the unemployed.[39] The full text of the bulletin was introduced to Congress by the representative from Browne's district in California and by Senator William Peffer of Kansas, a Populist.[40] The bill, and other Coxey bills in the next two months, produced more ridicule than enthusiasm.

Nevertheless, the small and weak American Federation of Labor voted to endorse Coxey's road improvement plan at its Chicago convention on December 15, 1893. Coxey's hometown paper, The Evening Independent, noted the endorsement three weeks later, on January 6, 1894, in a story about "Bulletin No. 1" -- albeit one that ran on the fourth page of a Saturday paper under a headline that included the words "Published by request."[41] The text listed names of people endorsing Coxey's road plan or responding to his request to send him petitions. The largest petition comprised "439 names from Gallipolis, Ohio . . . mostly Federated Trades Union names."[42]

Browne apparently wrote the story and submitted it, for the text referred to his hometown of Calistoga, California, as "the home of the writer." That fact is significant, for at the bottom of the story, in italic type, were two paragraphs that help clear up questions that have puzzled historians: Who first proposed a mass march on Washington, and when was the idea made public? Historian Carlos Schwantes wrote that Browne had sent a telegram to Coxey from the AFL convention in December, urging a march, but that Coxey rejected it and had to be coaxed into accepting the plan and then announcing it on January 31.[43] Another historian, Donald McMurry, attributed the idea to Coxey but gave no date.[44] Coxey almost certainly got his facts scrambled when he tried to recall the origin of the march in an interview with The Evening Independent when he was eighty-seven years old. The interview, first published as part of Coxey's obituary in 1951 (he lived to be ninety-seven), said an Independent reporter had urged him to march.[45]

However, Browne's article on January 6, 1894, clearly concluded with a call for a demonstration in Washington, without mentioning Massillon as a staging area:

> Send for petitions and get everybody to sign. We want to send to congress by May 1st, 1894, the biggest petition ever sent to a legislative body in the world. . . . A mass meeting will be held in Washington City at 10 a.m. May 1st, 1894, on the steps of the nation's capitol [sic], at which all the petitions received up to that time will be displayed, previous to being given to congress. Speakers of national repute will be invited to be present. Men without work should try to get there, as they have nothing else to do. ON TO WASHINGTON IN THE SPRING [emphasis in the original].[46]

For the next several weeks, Browne and Coxey demonstrated a flair for getting their names and their ideas in the newspapers of Massillon and nearby Canton, Akron and Cleveland. Initial stories in The Evening Independent were favorable. On the evening of January 8, Browne and Coxey appeared before the Massillon City Council. They asked the council to call a meeting of Massillon citizens to hear details of a finance plan that Coxey said had appeared to him in a dream the week before. He envisioned a half-billion dollars of road improvement bonds being issued nationwide, and he proposed that the city council and the U.S. Treasury work out an agreement to target $100,000 for roads in Massillon.

The council approved the meeting but withheld an endorsement of Coxey's plan.[47] However, the paper's account of the council meeting said Coxey's "great idea" had "the merit of novelty and originality."[48]

Two days after the council's vote but a week before the meeting, a rambling letter to the editor appeared on the front page of the Independent. In it, Browne summed up the Populist economic arguments for endorsing Coxey's currency-inflating bond proposal. He also gave the first hint that his stewardship of the Coxey movement would be marked by zealotry:

> The principal objections come from those people . . . who can never enter "Zion," even if they are professed christians [sic], according to the 1st and 5th verses of the fifteenth Psalm, i.e., interest takers -- those who live not by the divine injunction, "by the sweat of thine own brow," but by sweating others. They reside principally in Wall street [sic], New York.[49]

The following week's papers contained citizen and editorial comments about Coxey's plan. Responding to them in a letter printed on January 16, Browne returned to his religious imagery. He said he believed that human souls were formed by an assembling of the indestructible bits of the souls of the dead, a concept he related to the mystic Theosophical movement.[50] His letter likened Coxey to the biblical Jacob, saying, "Now, sir, here we have a modern 'Jacob,' and if theosophy be really true, possibly [it is] the same soul . . . having a similar dream [of] a 'ladder' that would enable . . . a people to ascend out of an interest paying bond hell into a non-interest paying bond heaven."[51]

The news stories and editorials in the Independent began to belittle Coxey and Browne. "Don Quixote," the editorial page called Coxey on January 16, and soon it labeled his sidekick "Sancho Panza." Both were called foolish.

The mass meeting packed the Massillon Music Hall on January 18. Coxey spoke first. He argued that the press ridiculed all great ideas. Browne then answered his critics and demonstrated a flair for drawing cartoons of politicians and downtrodden people while he talked.[52] When he was done, nobody else asked to speak, so the council put the question to the people: Should Massillon endorse Coxey's road-and-bond plan? Again, Browne demonstrated his skill at handling the press and the public. The Independent reported:

> Hands were raised in various parts of the hall, and Mr. Browne, evidently not considering it necessary to secure the negative vote, announced that the plan had received the endorsement of the people. Whether it did or not is a matter of some doubt, for many persons were of the opinion that the number of hands raised was not large enough to constitute a majority.[53]

Nevertheless, the headline above the story cast a flattering light on the night's events. "It Was a Joyous Occasion," it said. In smaller type, it added, "Messrs. Coxey and Browne Have it Their Own Way."

Browne tried to organize a mass march to the City Council's next meeting, on January 22, but the council got wind of the plan and adjourned before Browne's group of men and boys, accompanied by a band playing Yankee Doodle, arrived. Not one to waste an audience, Browne lectured to the crowd from atop his wagon in the street outside City Hall. The Independent's melodramatic report of Browne's antics -- it said he had tried to "storm the Tuileries," a reference to a royal residence during the French Revolution -- marked the first front-page report of the plan to march on Washington. It also was the first time that either Browne or Coxey specified that the march would originate in Massillon. Browne told a reporter that 100,000 men would walk and about 100 would ride Coxey's prize horses.[54] The reporter quoted himself in the story as warning Browne that federal laws would prevent Coxey from speaking at the Capitol.

Partly because of Browne's theatrics and partly because of conservative fears that Coxey's bond plan would hurt the economy, Massillon's city leaders distanced themselves from Browne and Coxey. The next time the council met, it refused to consider their bond plan. Again Browne took his arguments to the street. Outside City Hall, he drew cartoons of the councilmen as ostriches with their heads in the sand.[55]

On January 27, the Independent printed a front-page story that detailed Coxey's plan to march. It acknowledged that many citizens of Massillon considered the plan "a flight of imagination," but the writer said Coxey was dead earnest. By that time, Coxey had paid for another pamphlet, "Bulletin No. 2," to further publicize the march.[56]

Soon the Independent's gossip column, "Salmagundi," began carrying notices of Coxey and Browne addressing clubs and civic groups. The Independent said it was getting so much mail about Coxey that it could not print it all. Yet, as a likely indication of skepticism or boredom, the paper's coverage of Coxey's plans decreased somewhat in February. (In the twenty-six days of January 6 through January 31, the Independent printed thirteen stories mentioning Coxey or Browne, plus twenty-one related editorials, letters or Salmagundi items. During all of February, the Independent printed eleven such stories, plus seventeen editorials, letters or Salmagundi items.)

Other papers, however, began to take notice. Schwantes erroneously believed the nation's interest in Coxey's march was nearly non-existent until early March. He said nationwide coverage began in March when an enterprising Independent reporter started sending stories about Coxey to the Associated Press. While it is true that wire service stories brought Coxey the invaluable attention of Baker's Chicago Record that month, it is evident that Coxey's name was well known in New York, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis and Philadelphia a month before the date Schwantes acknowledged. Coxey and Browne probably drummed up the attention by mailing copies of "Bulletin No. 2" to newspapers in these cities, but the wire service almost certainly helped spread the word. In any case, in early February, the New York Recorder reported that Coxey was in the city for a horse sale. The paper reminded its readers, "He is the gentleman who intends to start to Washington . . . with his great army to advocate good roads."[57] The Pittsburgh Leader, in an article reprinted by the Independent on February 10, said it had received a message from Coxey. It said the message urged readers "to patronize Coxey's silica sand [Coxey had many customers in the Pittsburgh mills] and thoroughbred stallions, and . . . to move against Washington, D.C., for greenbacks or blood. . . . We have a sneaking idea that Coxey is not so hot after blood as he is after a free ad."[58]

For the next month, the Independent reprinted jokes about Coxey that appeared in the New York Sun. Stories about Coxey also appeared in mid-February in the Philadelphia Item and Minneapolis Times.[59] In its February 10 edition, the Independent stated that the nation's newspapers had been "going for Mr. Coxey hammer and tongs this week." As if to back up the claim, the paper reprinted a satiric poem about Coxey that had appeared in the Pittsburgh Leader.[60]

By mid-February, Browne and Coxey had made plans to give the march a religious look. First, they decided that the marchers would leave Massillon on Easter, March 25. Second, they officially named the group the Commonweal of Christ. Third, Browne began preparing religious banners for the trip. One was a large portrait of Christ, looking remarkably like Browne without his cowboy hat, surrounded by the words "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to Men, but Death to Interest on Bonds."[61] And fourth, Browne said the crowds he predicted would descend on Massillon would mystically bring about Christ's return because each person would contain one of the piece's of Christ's soul. Both Browne and Coxey held strong religious beliefs, but it must have occurred to Browne that linking Christ to their economic plan would have the added appeal of attracting sensation-loving reporters.

The Independent printed an interview with Browne on February 21:

> "Do you not see anything singular in the coming together of Brother Coxey and myself?" said he. "I believe that a part of the soul of Christ happened to come into my being. I believe also that another part of Christ's soul is in Bro. Coxey. . . . I also believe that the remainder of the soul of Christ has been fully re-incarnated in thousands of people throughout the United States today, and that accounts for the tremendous response to this call of ours, to try to bring about peace and plenty, to take the place of panic and poverty. To accomplish it means the second coming of Christ and I believe in the prophecy that He is to come, not [in] any one single form, but in the whole people. Now you have the reason for the banner of peace with His figure as a central painting, and that is why we start out on this mission on Easter Sunday -- for 'He hath risen.' "[62]

It is no wonder that Coxey and Browne got publicity. The late nineteenth century may have been what Schwantes called "the golden age of the crank in America,"[63] but even by the standards of that era Coxey and Browne were notable. The press treated them with disdain, yet seemed unable to resist stories that must have caused readers to shake their heads and chuckle. When a Columbus, Ohio, mystic said the spirit of Andrew Jackson had endorsed Coxey, the story made the front page of the Independent.[64] A son was born to Coxey's wife, Henrietta, on February 26, and when Coxey decided to name the boy Legal Tender Coxey, that story made the front page, too.[65] Browne even got front-page recognition in an especially macabre way after a Massillon tragedy on February 27. Three children drowned near the Cherry Street canal bridge, and three others were saved by four schoolboys. Citizens of Massillon began donating nickels and dimes to reward the heroes, and the Independent kept a running list of donors. In one story, amid the ten cents from W.R. Coleman and the twenty-five cents from J.B. Bissonette, appeared the notation "Carl Browne, oil painting."[66]

No one can say with certainty who wrote the Independent's stories about Browne and Coxey while they were organizing their march. The stories carried no bylines. However, it seems apparent that the editorials that belittled Coxey's Army were written by the conservative, twenty-eight-year-old editor, Robert Peet Skinner, and that he probably wrote for the front page, too. Skinner is known to have marched out of Massillon with Coxey, and the initials R.P.S. appear at the bottom of a handful of dispatches to the Independent that reported on the progress of the Commonweal. A photograph of Skinner taken four years after the march revealed an earnest, oval face, a receding hairline, a pair of wire-rimmed pince-nez and a coat with long lapels. He almost certainly would have ridiculed Coxey's economic ideas because he was fond of William McKinley, the business-oriented governor of Ohio.[67] It seems likely that Skinner was the "lively young reporter" whom Schwantes credited with spreading the Independent's stories over the AP wire. That probably would give Skinner the credit for bringing Coxey to the attention of Baker, whose managing editor at the Chicago Record sent him to Massillon to see if there was any substance to the wire stories he had received about Coxey. Baker's train arrived in Massillon, a quiet town of 12,000 on the Tuscarawas River, on March 15, 1894.[68] He immediately had hired a buggy and drove "four or five miles of the muddiest roads I think I ever saw" to the farmhouse on Coxey's estate northeast of town, where he met Coxey and the outrageously dressed Browne.[69]

Baker had a special fondness for Coxey and Browne. Although he wrote many memorable stories in Chicago, he chose to make Coxey's Army the first substantial chapter in his memoirs, American Chronicle. In the book, Baker recalled that when he met Coxey, the sand merchant said he expected to attract 20,000 people for the march to Washington, and that Browne promptly multiplied that number by five. When Baker reminded them that the day of departure was less than two weeks away and he had yet to see marchers in Massillon, Coxey pointed to the letters on the table beside him.

"There were hundreds of them -- perhaps a thousand or more," Baker wrote in American Chronicle. "Most of them were poorly written, some were on the letter paper of labor unions, clubs of the Knights of Labor, Populist organizations and the like."[70] Browne told Baker that the problem was not one of recruiting an army, but rather of avoiding too big a crowd.

Baker noticed that many of the letters contained large checks. Coxey said they were common but usually bounced when he tried to cash them. However, Coxey made it a point to show Baker an Iowa widow's letter that contained a single dollar bill.[71] Baker thought Coxey's plan a bit crazy and did not believe the Commonweal would leave Massillon. Nevertheless, he sent his editor news of what he saw, composing one story while Browne and a choir serenaded him from outside his window.[72]

A few days later, Coxey told Baker "We're beginning to hear from your articles in Chicago." Papers in other cities, including many along the West Coast that were served by the AP's newly leased wires, printed news about Coxey. Copycat marches were organized in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle and the mining towns of Montana, although the unemployed men who filled their ranks wanted federal money for irrigation projects instead of road improvements.[73] Baker's reaction to Coxey's statement, as recorded in his memoirs, was that he finally realized the power of the modern press. He felt some responsibility for launching "this crazy enterprise," but he continued to write. The story was too good to drop.[74]

Out-of-town journalists began to pour into Massillon. Among the first to follow Baker was Honore Jaxon, whom the Independent described as a "half-breed Indian" from Canada.[75] He carried only a blanket, a hatchet and a few cooking utensils. Jaxon was under contract to the Chicago Times to stay a half-day ahead of Coxey's Army and file regular reports.[76] Also arriving a few days before Easter were Henry Vincent, editor of the Chicago Express; reporter Charlie Seymour of the Chicago Herald; reporter Austin Beach of the Pittsburgh Times; reporter Shirley Austin of The Chautauquan magazine; reporter N.P. Babcock of Joseph Pulitzer's New York World and reporter Hugh O'Donnell of the New York Press.[77] O'Donnell was well-known as the leader of the bloody 1892 steel mill strike in Homestead, Pennsylvania, and probably needed work. He had been blacklisted by the iron and steel industry, and many working-class people hated O'Donnell for his unsuccessful effort to have New York Tribune publisher Whitelaw Reid mediate a settlement to the Homestead strike. "I am now shunned by labor and capital, a modern Ishmael," O'Donnell wrote in 1894.[78]

One other journalist was on hand. Wilbur Miller was a reporter for the Repository in Canton, a few miles east of Massillon. On March 19, 1894, the Cincinnati Enquirer sent Miller a telegram that said, "Want you to go with Coxey," and offered to pay his expenses and a fee based on the length of his published stories. He also reported about Coxey for the AP and the Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph.[79]

Massillon reacted to the flock of reporters with amusement, skepticism and trepidation. The mayor collected the autographs of each reporter, and the Independent began a contest to guess the number of marchers who would leave Massillon with Coxey on Easter.[80] The Independent and The (Cleveland) Plain Dealer printed excerpts from letters, produced by Browne, that indicated thousands of unemployed men would be on hand for the departure. Yet the papers continued to express doubts.

Typical of the letters was one in The Plain Dealer: "James A. Harrington of Piqua, O[hio], is glad to announce that 700 will be on deck from that place," it said. "That may be true, but what a hole that would make in Piqua," a town of 9,000.[81] Newspapers also played up colorful and unusual facts. For example, the Independent noted that "Prof. C.B. Freeman, who claims to be the loudest singer in the world," had arrived on March 21 from Youngstown, Ohio, to march with Coxey, and The Plain Dealer printed Browne's statement that "colored folks" would be welcomed into the Commonweal.[82] Coxey and Browne's decision to integrate the army raised eyebrows. They demonstrated their openness to the equality of men and their news media savvy by choosing a black man to lead the procession and carry the American flag.[83]

The most intriguing news item, however, involved the man whom Browne picked to drill the marchers. He was Browne's master stroke of publicity:

> In the center of the dark public square, beside the flaring light of a gasoline torchlight, Lieut. Carl Browne stood up and introduced the "great unknown" to the crowd below him. The members of the commonweal [sic] sent up a shout of joy, and the stranger bowed and began his address. He spoke in a clear, loud voice, with a slight German accent, and the words recalled the days of excitement before the Haymarket riot, when Chicago was pulsing with the bitter invective of anarchist orators. One of the spectators, in a pause of the speech, shouted: "It is Fielden of Chicago [a man convicted in the Haymarket Riot and later pardoned[84]]." At that the crowd burst into wild shouts of applause, and the speaker, raising his arms, said, "I am the great unknown, and the great unknown I must remain."[85]

Reporters wrote thousands of words speculating about the identity of the Great Unknown, a name that Browne insisted the man use. Later, after Browne and the Unknown quarreled, some Chicago reporters revealed they always had known the mysterious man's name but had kept quiet for the sake of a good story.[86] The Unknown turned out to be A.P.B. Bozarro (sometimes spelled "Pizarro"), a patent medicine seller.[87]

Baker's editors became alarmed when his stories suggested that thousands of jobless men were expected in Massillon. They warned the authorities of Ohio to prevent the march and uphold order,[88] but reporters in Ohio wondered if anyone would answer Coxey's call to arms. At sunrise on the day before Easter, Coxey's Army consisted of less than a dozen men.[89] Baker wrote in his memoirs that Seymour of the Chicago Herald suggested that the reporters could guarantee a big turnout on Easter if they hired workers from a nearby circus to pretend to join Coxey's Army and march out of town. He was not sure if Seymour was serious, but he need not have worried.[90] Freight trains rumbling into town Saturday night and Sunday morning dropped loads of hungry-looking men in ragged overcoats. Hundreds assembled at the Massillon Gun Club, and they breakfasted on coffee and ham supplied by Coxey.[91] At 11 o'clock Easter morning, Browne, wearing his buckskin jacket, creased sombrero and a white lace necktie, pranced about on Coxey's white stallion, Currier. At noon, the Great Unknown yelled "Everybody march!" and a small brass band, forty-two reporters and about 100 men carrying banners and flags stumbled eastward. More men probably would have joined the procession if not for the bitter cold and a strong wind.[92] Thousands watched as the march left town; that night the seventeen telegraph operators that Western Union had dispatched to Massillon handled nearly 40,000 words from the press corps.[93]

When Coxey's Army tramped into Alliance, Ohio, Baker sent his editors a short letter, dated March 28, along with his stories. The Record printed the note, which was as close as Baker came to analysis. "I am beginning to feel that the movement . . . is a manifestation of the prevailing unrest and dissatisfaction among the laboring classes," Baker said. "I don't like to think about the army with a sober face, but it seems to me that such a movement must be looked on as something more than a huge joke."[94] The Record later telegraphed Baker to treat Coxey as "the hero of the plot . . . though he seems to be a puppet in Browne's hands," and to send gossip and hard-luck stories.[95]

The marchers developed a complex relationship with the press corps, whose ranks rose and fell between ten and forty during the march. Reporters tended to laugh at Coxey's Army, yet they acknowledged Coxey's and Browne's publicity skills. Journalist W.T. Stead wrote in 1894 that Coxey displayed genius in the way he "compelled all the newspapers of the Continent to devote from a column to six columns a day to reporting Coxeyism. . . . No millionaire could, without ruining himself, have secured as much space for advertising his wares."[96]

Coxey grew a bit distrustful of reporters, who made much of the fact that he usually slept in hotels on the way to Washington while his army slept outdoors. Some reporters sneered at him, calling him everything from "Silica Sand" to "a dangerous lunatic." Newspapers sometimes described his army, which grew as large as 500 men as it marched through the Pennsylvania steel towns, as consisting of tramps and vagabonds, although many marchers were skilled laborers who had lost their jobs.[97]

The marchers did not take kindly to the way they were portrayed. An astrologer who marched with the army predicted that the reporters would be punished for their wickedness by falling victim to a fatal epidemic in July.[98] Other marchers turned to violence, and Browne had to intervene. On March 26, he ordered the marchers to treat reporters with courtesy.[99] The order did not stop W.H. McLain of the Pittsburgh Leader from getting into a fistfight with a Coxeyite.[100] On another occasion, marchers tried to drag an unidentified Pittsburgh reporter from his horse and were overpowered by other reporters. And in an unidentified newspaper clipping in Miller's scrapbook, dated a year after the march, Browne revealed the deep hatred some marchers felt for reporters. One day, Browne said,

> I had just finished my lunch of hardtack and cold blocks of boiled pork, when a faithful friend came to me and said, "Marshal, there is going to be trouble with the reporters here; you had better see. . . . They [the marchers] are going to

> stop their [the reporters'] teams and take off their clothes and dress them up in some of their rags and take the stock of whiskey and cigars, and some even advocate the hanging of Hugh O'Donnell."[101]

The clipping said Browne talked the marchers out of an attack by warning that it would end the Coxey movement. Since Browne gave the only version of a story that portrays him favorably, his reliability must be questioned. However, the story seems plausible. Browne knew the attention of reporters was crucial to the impact of Coxey's Army, yet he had a history of speaking his mind to reporters. For example, the Independent quoted Browne as raging against "the minions of the subsidized press" when he felt they were unsympathetic.[102] Another outburst haunted him. On March 30, at Columbiana, Ohio, Browne invoked the name of a mythological creature with a hundred eyes and gave the press corps a name it proudly adopted: The Argus-Eyed Demons of Hell.[103]

The reporters who marched with Coxey's Army decided to form a "Demon" organization based on images of the Antichrist that would mock the Christian organization Browne and Coxey had tried to create. The reporters created Demon uniforms out of corduroy, issued Demon badges like the badges Browne had issued to marchers (Miller was Demon No. 15), and privately wrote satires of the marching orders that Browne regularly distributed when the marchers camped.[104]

Pressed for stories in the remote parts of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Maryland, the Demons sometimes wrote about themselves. "No livelier crowd ever crossed a continent than the historians associated with Coxey's revolution, and while entre nous [just between us] the bird and the bottle play their part, the pleasure is innocent and moderate," the Independent reported April 7. A newspaper clipping in Miller's scrapbook stressed that many Demons were teetotalers and that those who did drink were "remarkably temperate."[105]

Original documents now available in Miller's scrapbook paint a far different picture. In the Demons' marching orders, as issued by "Chief Demon" Beach, whiskey and beer got prominent attention. "Bugle will blow at 8:30, whisky [sic] at 8:32, pancakes at 8:45, whisky [sic] at 9:01, and at the usual intervals thereafter. Lunch at Pabst crossing," one marching order said. Another reported, "Whisky [sic] at 9:01, and camp salutations at 9:15."[106] And in a third order, Beach admonished five reporters -- including Baker and Miller -- for letting the Demons run out of liquor.[107]

After filing their stories with the telegraph operator who accompanied them on the march, the Demons sometimes invited the mayor of a nearby town to join them in an evening of drinking and conversation. The mayor of Hagerstown, Maryland, held a banquet for the Demons, and the Demons treated him to a song composed by Babcock of the New York World:

> Forty Demons marching on,
> Every Demon has a horn,
> Drunk at night and drunk at morn,
> Now we're here and now we're gone.
>
> Demons come from all the states,
> Brought together by the Fates,
> Yet they are the best of mates,
> For all are blooming reprobates.[108]

The Demons' reputation as "reprobates" rested largely on their antics on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, where their conduct strayed from that of impartial observers. After the Commonweal arrived at Cumberland, Maryland, a few days before the Hagerstown banquet, Coxey hired two boats to carry the marchers ninety miles down the canal. Historians differ on why Coxey put his army afloat. One historian's centennial account of Coxey's march suggested he wanted to escape from reporters because he was fed up with their jeers, but it seems unlikely that Coxey would abandon his link to publicity.[109] Baker said Coxey hired boats because the roads below Cumberland were impassable.[110] A third opinion was offered by the Independent, which said Coxey merely wanted to give his army a rest. That seems most credible; the steep climbs and icy weather in the Appalachian Mountains had taken a toll on the marchers. In any event, Coxey's

Army became a navy on April 17, shipped at the rate the boatmen charged to transport livestock -- fifty-two cents a ton.[111] Coxey told the reporters that he could not delay his boats while they went ashore to file their stories, so about a dozen reporters decided to hire a boat of their own. The best they could find was a coal barge, which they scrubbed and christened The Flying Demon. At Cumberland, the reporters loaded the barge with six cases of bottled beer, two kegs of beer and four gallons of whiskey in stone jars -- for a two-day trip. In addition to the skipper of the barge, the Demons had elected an admiral, and after the Flying Demon cast off, the admiral blew a tin horn every fifteen minutes to call the Demons below for a drink.[112] They quickly got drunk and flew a red flag until Browne and Coxey made them haul it down, fearing that it might be misconstrued as socialist. That night, a group of practical jokers ignited a package of "Greek fire," a flammable compound, on deck to scare their comrades sleeping below. Luckily the impressive flames caused no damage or injury.[113]

Despite their flirtation with fire and conflict with the marchers, as well as their enormous consumption of alcohol, the Demons did an amazing amount of work. They filed up to 100,000 words per night, sometimes in the wilderness. On the other hand, they were paid by the column inch, so it was in their interest to seek and write long stories. The greatest amount of press coverage en route to Washington was generated by the Commonweal's triumphal march through the labor-loving neighborhoods of Pittsburgh; the dispute between Browne and the Great Unknown that led to the latter's banishment on April 15 and Browne's revealing of his identity; and the journey down the canal. Reporters often had to finish writing by 6 p.m., the deadline set by E.P. Bishop, the Western Union telegraph operator who accompanied the Demons. Bishop sometimes hired horses to take the Demons' stories to the nearest telegraph line. There, one of Bishop's linemen would climb a pole, cut the wire and splice in a portable telegraph key. Reporters took late stories to the telegraph office themselves.[114]

The high-water mark of news coverage occurred when the march neared Washington, D.C. As it began to seem certain that Coxey's Army would reach the Capitol, Baker and the other Demons began to wonder what the U.S. government would do. Reporters asked Coxey how he would react if law enforcement officers tried to keep their promise to prevent him from speaking at the Capitol. The sand merchant gave a typically upbeat answer -- it was nonsense to think such thoughts.[115] He considered the Capitol grounds partly his property as an American citizen. When Coxey learned that an 1882 act of Congress prohibited demonstrations on the Capitol grounds, he said, "We will keep off the grass around the Capitol. Of course, I appreciate that . . . the preservation of the grass around the Capitol is of more importance than saving thousands from starvation."[116]

Coxey's Army camped in Washington's Brightwood Riding Park. A wall of canvas that bore the words "He is Alive!" surrounded the marchers, who numbered about 300 at the time. On Sunday, April 29, Browne preached from Revelation, and Coxey spoke for a half-hour on the effect his march would have on Congress within the next two weeks.[117] Monday was spent in final preparations.

On Tuesday, May 1, Coxey's Army walked toward the Capitol to fulfill the vows made in January. With Coxey's Army and the Demons were Coxey's daughter, Mamie, dressed as the goddess of peace; Coxey's wife, Henrietta; and his infant son, Legal Tender. Watching along Pennsylvania Avenue were 10,000 to 20,000 spectators -- public officials, ordinary citizens and police officers, on foot or on horseback. Browne dismounted and Coxey stepped down from his carriage to approach the Capitol grounds' B Street entrance, which was blocked by 300 to 400 police officers. A mounted officer told Browne and Coxey that they could not pass. An onlooker yelled, "Jump over the wall!" and Coxey and Browne leaped over a low stone divider and disappeared into a crowd. In the pandemonium of the next few seconds, officers zeroed in on Browne's outrageous buckskin clothes and nearly missed the mild-looking Coxey. It took several officers to wrestle the bellowing Browne to the ground as he attempted to divert attention from Coxey

-- reporters describing Browne's capture used words of admiration unlike anything the press ever had written about him. During the struggle, Browne's beloved amber beads, a necklace he wore in memory of his dead wife, were broken and scattered on the ground. Coxey was arrested before he could begin his speech, although he threw a copy of it to a reporter before being taken to jail.[118] On May 8, Coxey and Browne were convicted of carrying banners on the Capitol grounds and of walking on the grass. They received twenty-day jail terms.

Coxey's Army changed from farce to tragedy in the press. Skinner of The (Massillon) Evening Independent somehow filed three short reports during the half-hour march up Pennsylvania Avenue in time for the May 1 evening edition of his paper. His breathless prose described a stampede and reported that police officers used clubs to restore order. Browne was clubbed severely, and a white-faced Coxey was hauled away by a large group of officers, Skinner wrote.[119]

An editorial that accompanied Skinner's reports encapsulated a shift in the Independent's attitude. "We cannot afford to lose Mr. Coxey," it said. "With all his faults we love him still. . . . Now that the danger point is passed we realize that we have had a great deal of fun on account of Mr. Coxey and his movement, and we forgive him for all the anxiety he has created."[120] After his arrest and sentencing, Coxey disappeared from the nation's papers, although not without some editorials commenting on the pettiness of the charges.

Little of the news coverage of Coxey's Army, either upon Coxey's arrival in Washington or during his march, focused on the political ideas he professed. In this regard, Coxey and Browne failed to publicize the details of their economic plan and obtain a fair hearing in the nation's press. Instead, news stories tended to focus on the drama, excitement and conflict inherent in the march. Coxey's Army was a source of amusement until its tragic ending shocked some newspapers into recognizing its serious intentions. Serious or not, however, Coxey and Browne were unable or unwilling to continue orchestrating a publicity campaign while in jail, leaving their followers and the Argus-Eyed Demons to disperse and seek new diversions.

The Chicago Record ordered Baker home on May 2. The reporter had written about 75,000 words about Coxey's Army. Before he left Washington, he visited Browne. The big man had dried blood on his head and neck; his elbows rested on his knees in a picture of pure dejection.

> The turnkey let me into the cell and I sat down by his side. When he turned to look at me I placed in his hand the amber beads I had picked up during the melee. When he saw them his shoulders began to heave and he sobbed like the child he really was. "You're the only friend I've got left in the world," he blubbered.[121]

For several years, Browne wrote letters to Baker and signed them, "The pen is mightier than the sword." That message, the first that Browne had presented to Baker, came true. Baker's pen made him famous first as a muckraker and later as head of the American Press Bureau at the Paris peace conference of 1919. As for Browne, he and Coxey were defeated by brute force, but echoes of the ideas they spread through the nation's newspapers could be heard in the public works and currency reforms of the New Deal. Franklin Roosevelt's administration, in fact, allowed Coxey to deliver his speech on the Capitol steps exactly fifty years after his arrest.[122] By that time, the public had grown more accustomed both to liberal economics and to pseudo-events. The anniversary speech was reported with little fanfare.

History has been kind to Coxey. His economic ideas became conventional wisdom in less than half a century. Specifically, his attempt to stimulate the economy through federal spending programs hinted at the ideas of twentieth-century economist John Maynard Keynes.[123] Although one should not draw too many parallels between Coxey and Keynes, Coxey's support for running a budget deficit during hard times would have fit nicely in the 1930s.

Conclusions about the press coverage of Coxey are not so neatly drawn. On one hand, the Argus-Eyed Demons of Hell and the leaders of the Commonweal had a mutually beneficial relationship. Browne did outrageous things because he and Coxey needed attention. Reporters felt justified in accommodating them because outrageous stories were well-read stories, and the Demons were paid by the inch. On the other hand, by the standards of twentieth-century objectivity, the Demons were unfairly sensational. But according to Dicken-Garcia, sensationalism was accepted or even encouraged in the journalism of a century ago,[124] and Browne was willing to accept the excesses of his press campaign in exchange for its benefits. Like Pulitzer, Browne and Coxey condoned a little sensationalism for what they saw as a good cause.

A year after Coxey's Army had left Massillon, Browne said the march would not have been possible without the modern newspaper, the telegraph and "the desire for the sensational . . . catered to by a local representative of the press."[125]

It was a good summation, but not the best. That came from Garet Garrett's "The Driver," a short story in which the narrator recalls his days among the Argus-Eyed Demons of Hell. "News is stranger than fiction," the narrator says. "[N]ot in what it tells but in how it happens."[126]

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[1] Ray Stannard Baker, American Chronicle (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945), 7.

[2] Baker, American Chronicle, 7.

[3] Sources vary on whether the silver coins on Browne's jacket were dollars or half-dollars. For another description of Browne's suit and other details, including his "Old Greasy" nickname, see Donald McMurry, Coxey's Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929). A photograph of Browne in his Buffalo Bill suit appears in Carlos A. Schwantes, Coxey's Army: An American Odyssey (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985). Both books provide general accounts of Coxey's Army, mainly after the beginning of the march on 25 March 1894.

[4] Baker, American Chronicle, 7.

[5] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 2. In the 1876 election, Democrat Samuel Tilden apparently outpolled Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in both the popular vote and in the Electoral College. However, Hayes' campaign managers challenged the validity of returns from three Southern states. The commission set up to solve the problem split its vote along party lines and awarded all disputed electoral votes to Hayes, giving him a victory that historians have viewed as tainted.

[6] According to mass media theorist Daniel Boorstin, a pseudo-event is a happening that is carefully planned (instead of spontaneous) and occurs primarily for the purpose of being reported. See Daniel Boorstin, "From News-Gathering to News-Making: A Flood of Pseudo-Events," in Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts, eds., The Process and Effects of Mass Communication (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 120.

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[7] For an account of editors' reliance on reporters and the telegraph during the Civil War and the increasing demands of readers for fresh news, see Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter Jr., Voices of a Nation: A History of Mass Media in the United States (New York: Macmillian College Publishing Company, 1994) and Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

[8] Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards, 61.

[9] Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards, 64.

[10] Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards, 89-91.

[11] Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards, 98, 185, 198.

[12] Michael and Edwin Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988), 227.

[13] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News (New York: Basic Books, 1978), quoted in Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content (New York: Longman, 1991), 92.

[14] Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1880-1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on the News," Journalism History 7 (Spring 1980): 8.

[15] David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), 6. Also see Dicken-Garcia, Journalism Standards, passim.

[16] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 38.

[17] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 6; and Joseph Gustaitis, "Coxey's Army," American History Illustrated, March/April 1994, 41. For Browne's description of how his wife died on Christmas Day, 1892, and how he felt "from that moment, I commenced, as was my wife's wish, to absorb her soul . . . and . . . that all that was good of her entered

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into me," see "The Old and New Theosophy," an editorial in The (Massillon) Evening Independent, March 17, 1894.

[18] Baker, American Chronicle, 7.

[19] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 25.

[20] Gustaitis, "Coxey's Army," 41.

[21] Coxey said the idea of financing his plan with non-interest-bearing bonds came to him in a dream during the night of December 31, 1893-January 1, 1894.

[22] Schwantes pointed out that Bacon's Rebellion marched on the Virginia government in 1676 and Shays' Rebellion marched on Boston in 1786-87. The first was a colonial government, the second a state government. Neither was the nation's capital.

[23] Gustaitis, "Coxey's Army," 39.

[24] U.S. Department of Commerce, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970 (Bureau of the Census: Washington, D.C., 1975), 135.

[25] U.S. Department of Commerce, Historical Statistics of the United States, 135.

[26] Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1933), 593.

[27] Nevins, Grover Cleveland, 592.

[28] Historical Statistics of the United States, 212, 201. The Warren-Pearson scale uses wholesale farm product prices from the years 1910 to 1914 to figure a base line of 100 for an index to prices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Measured by this scale, wholesale farm prices fell from 148 in 1865 to 71 in 1890, the last year for which the Warren-Pearson scale is available. The scale of measurement for the decline in the consumer price index comes from the Federal Reserve Bank, which uses 1913 to set a base line of 100. Measured by this scale, consumer prices fell from 102 in 1865 to 73 in 1894.

[29] Nevins, Grover Cleveland, 592.

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[30] Gustaitis, "Coxey's Army, " 39.

[31] Nevins, Grover Cleveland, 466.

[32] Nevins, Grover Cleveland, 525.

[33] Nevins, Grover Cleveland, 525.

[34] Richard Vedder, distinguished professor of economics, Ohio University, interviewed by the author in Athens, Ohio, 19 April 1994. Transcript in the possession of the author.

[35] Massillon Official City Directory 1895-96 (Massillon: Burch Directory Co., 1894), 126.

[36] Oliver Gramling, AP: The Story of News (New York: Farrar and Rinehart Inc., 1940), 109-135.

[37] "Journalistic Progress: All Great Cities of the Country Connected by Associated Press Wires," The (Cleveland) Plain Dealer, 16 March 1894.

[38] Emery, The Press and America, 226. Emery said Hearst's New York Journal had reached a daily circulation of 437,000 by 1896 and approached the Sunday circulation figure of 600,000 set by Pulitzer's New York World.

[39] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 32.

[40] Coxey sympathized with the Populists, and vice versa, but Coxey tended to avoid the Populist label. Coxey ran as the People's Party candidate for Ohio governor in 1895. He finished third, with 6 percent of the vote, behind a Republican and a Democrat.

[41] "Bulletin No. 1 -- Published by request, GOOD ROADS," The (Massillon) Evening Independent, hereafter identified as The Evening Independent, 6 January 1894.

[42] "Bulletin No. 1," The Evening Independent, 6 January 1894. Also supporting Coxey's road plan were the attorney general of California and the director of an art school in Detroit.

[43] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 33.

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[44] McMurry, Coxey's Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894, 33.

[45] "Late Editor's Article Tells of Coxey's Life," The Evening Independent, 19 May 1951. Doubt was cast on the article's veracity by simple chronology. The paper said that in January 1894, news came from the West Coast that armies of unemployed men were seizing trains to travel to Washington and demand relief from Congress. However, Schwantes documented that groups of unemployed first organized in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and other West Coast cities in March and April 1894, and the newspapers he cited called these men "Coxeyites." The most famous theft of a train occurred 24 April 1894, in Butte, Montana. Thus these movements occurred well after Coxey and Browne's plans had been announced in January by the Massillon press and on March 15 by the Chicago Record. Coxey was known for eccentricity but not for senility, so it appears likely he was trying to be ingratiating in his interview with the Massillon paper in 1941.

[46] "Bulletin No. 1," The Evening Independent, 6 January 1894.

[47] "Bulletin No. 1," The Evening Indepedent, 6 January 1894.

[48] "Coxey and the Council: A Great Idea for Breaking Up Hard Times," The Evening Independent, 9 January 1894.

[49] "The Latest Bond Scheme: Now Up for Consideration by the Council," The Evening Independent, 10 January 1894.

[50] Helena Blavatsky began the Theosophical movement in Russia in 1858. She and H.S. Olcott formed the Theosophical Society in New York in 1875. Blavatsky fused elements of Hindu, Tibetan and Egyptian beliefs in a pantheistic system integrating the divine, the cosmos and the self. The Evening Independent analyzed Carl Browne's spiritual claims and concluded that his doctrines differed from true Theosophy.

[51] "Mr. Browne Replies," The Evening Independent, 16 January 1894.

[52] "It Was a Joyous Occasion," The Evening Independent, 19 January 1894.

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[53] "It Was a Joyous Occasion," The Evening Independent, 19 January 1894.

[54] "A Story of Real Life," The Evening Independent, 23 January 1894. Coxey raised thoroughbred horses in Ohio and on ranch land he owned in Oklahoma. His favorite horse, Acolyte, was reported to be worth $40,000.

[55] "After the Council Meeting," The Evening Independent, 24 January 1894.

[56] "A Magnificent Faith," The Evening Independent, 27 January 1894.

[57] "Salmagundi," The Evening Independent, 9 February 1894.

[58] "A Sneaking Idea," The Evening Independent, 10 February 1894.

[59] The Evening Independent reprinted items from these two newspapers. An editorial February 22 said, "The Minneapolis Times does not know Mr. Coxey, for it says that 'Mr. J.S. Coxey, the man who proposes to lead 100,000 men to Washington to protest against [sic] the issue of bonds, is probably a railroad ticket agent in disguise as a crank.'" On February 24, the Independent said the Commonweal had received its "biggest boost" in the form of a rather supportive editorial in the 185,000-circulation Philadelphia Item.

[60] "Cullings From Coxiana," The Evening Independent, 24 February 1894. The Leader's poem included these lines:

> When Coxey saw that times grew bad,
> It made his honest heart feel sad
> And then he grew confounded mad
> And ramped and raged and tore.
> To congress he wrote on and said,
> "The people must and shall be fed,
> If not your blood be on his head,"
> You see he's after gore.
>
> When congress failed to toe the mark,
> Then Coxey said, with meaning dark,
> "That I can bite as well as bark,
> You'll very quickly see."
> Forthwith he took his fertile pen
> And issued from his private den
> A call for fifty thousand men
> To march against D.C.

The poem concludes by speculating that Coxey's name will be "Mud" upon arrival in Washington.

[61] "Reformers and Theosophists," The Evening Independent, 21 February 1894.

[62] "Reformers and Theosophists," The Evening Independent, 21 February 1894.

[63] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 47.

[64] "Old Hickory Heard From," The Evening Independent, 3 March 1894.

[65] "A Christening at Coxey's," The Evening Independent, 7 March 1894.

[66] "Echoes of the Accident," The Evening Independent, 28 February 1894.

[67] William McKinley "smiled very amiably" but declined to answer an Independent reporter's question about his opinion of Coxey in a story March 12. After McKinley became president in 1897, he appointed Skinner to be consul to Marseilles, France, moving Skinner into a diplomatic career that eventually took him to consular posts in Berlin, London and Turkey. In 1932 Skinner was envoy to the Baltic countries and encouraged the career of George Kennan, a young expert on the Soviet Union. Kennan later became the chief architect of U.S. Cold War diplomacy. Kennan's Memoirs 1925-1950 praised his boss for his "effective service as consul general in London in World War I." For a photograph of Skinner, see Edward Thornton Heald, The Stark County Story, Vol. II (Canton, Ohio: Stark County Historical Society, 1950), 128.

[68] Population figures were taken from the appendix of the Ohio Census for 1890 and the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

[69] Baker, American Chronicle, 7.

[70] Baker, American Chronicle, 8.

[71] Baker, American Chronicle, 8.

[72] Baker, American Chronicle, 11.

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[73] Most of the men in these West Coast marches never made it to Washington. Many ran out of money or were stranded in Texas, the Rocky Mountains or central Iowa by railroads that refused to let them ride inside the boxcars for free. For an account of these movements, which the 1894 press described as "Coxeyite," see Schwantes, Coxey's Army.

[74] Baker, American Chronicle, 11.

[75] "Perfectly Ridiculous," The Evening Independent, 17 March 1894.

[76] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 42-43, and McMurry, Coxey's Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894, 43. The Times put Jaxon on an expense account of seventy cents a day. Jaxon ate a lot of oatmeal on the trip.

[77] These names and newspapers are pieced together from "Coxey Nervous," The Plain Dealer, 25 March 1894; American Chronicle; The Evening Independent, passim; and the personal scrapbook of Associated Press correspondent Wilbur Miller, microfilm edition No. 162, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, hereafter listed as Miller Scrapbook.

[78] William Serrin, Homestead (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 92.

[79] Telegram from W.C. Connelly Jr. of the Associated Press to Wilbur Miller, letter from Henry J. Ford of the Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph to Miller, and telegram from John T. (J?) McCarthy to Miller, 22, 31 in Miller Scrapbook. The extent of Miller's role in covering Coxey's Army was revealed for the first time by the acquisition of the Miller Scrapbook in 1987 by the Ohio Historical Society.

[80] "Coxey Nervous," The Plain Dealer, 25 March 1894, and "A Chance to Guess," The Evening Independent, 22 March 1894. The winner of the contest was James Waggoner of Massillon, who guessed eighty-four. The Independent awarded him a free sitting at a photographer's studio and twelve "cabinet photographs."

[81] "Coxey Nervous," The Plain Dealer, 25 March 1894.

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[82] "Letters by the Bushel," The Evening Independent, 21 March 1894, and "Coxey Nervous," The Plain Dealer, 25 March 1894.

[83] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 43. Schwantes reported the flag-bearer's name as Jasper Johnson, but Baker identified him as Jasper Johnson Buchanan. Coxey declined to allow women into the Commonweal. He feared the mixing of sexes could create tensions and bring undue attention to the moral qualities of his marchers.

[84] The Haymarket Riot occurred 4 May 1886, in Chicago when police tried to break up a mass meeting of workers striking against the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company. A dynamite bomb thrown by a striker or a strike sympathizer killed seven policemen and injured sixty others. Four people were hanged in connection with the violence, one committed suicide, and three were given prison sentences but pardoned in 1893 by the Illinois governor. The Great Unknown was rumored to be Samuel Fielden, one of these three.

[85] "The J.S. Coxey Crusade," The Evening Independent, 20 March 1894. The Independent attributed the description of the Great Unknown to a story by "the Chicago Record man," i.e., Ray Stannard Baker.

[86] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 81.

[87] "The 'Great Unknown' Is a Chicago Fakir, Prophet, Astrologer & c.," clipping identified as "Special dispatch to The Enquirer," 17 April 1894, in the Miller Scrapbook.

[88] John E. Semonche, Ray Stannard Baker: A Quest for Democracy in Modern America, 1870-1918 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 62.

[89] "News from the Front," The Evening Independent, 24 March 1894.

[90] Baker, American Chronicle, 14-15.

[91] Baker, American Chronicle, 15.

[92] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 44-45.

[93] "Moving from Massillon," The Evening Independent, 26 March 1894.

[94] Semonche, Ray Stannard Baker, 63.

[95] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 80.

[96] W.T. Stead, "Coxeyism: A Character Sketch," The Review of Reviews, Vol. X, 48.

[97] See for example, "Brains Out of Tune," The Evening Independent, 7 April 1894, and "Coxey's Army on the Move," The New York Times, 26 March 1894.

[98] Editorial, The Evening Independent, 9 April 1894.

[99] "At Camp Bunker Hill," The Evening Independent, 27 March 1894.

[100] Miller Scrapbook, 3.

[101] Miller Scrapbook, 74.

[102] "Notes on the Commonweal," excerpts from The Plain Dealer in The Evening Independent, 20 March 1894, and "The Army Behaving Well," The Evening Independent, 30 March 1894.

[103] "Coxey in Command," The Evening Independent, 30 March 1894.

[104] Baker, American Chronicle, 22, and Miller Scrapbook, 74-75.

[105] Miller Scrapbook, 3.

[106] "General Order No. 3" and "General Order No. 6," Miller Scrapbook, 97-98.

[107] "Special Order No. 1," Miller Scrapbook, 96.

[108] Untitled clipping, possibly Baltimore American, n.d., Miller Scrapbook, 3.

[109] Gustaitis, "Coxey's Army," 43.

[110] Baker, American Chronicle, 22.

[111] "Shipped as Live Stock," The Evening Independent, 17 April 1894.

[112] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 79.

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[113] Miller, "Fire at Sea," Canton Repository, clipping dated "1895" in Miller Scrapbook, 75. The Oxford English Dictionary defines Greek fire as "a combustible composition for setting fire to an enemy's ships, works, etc."

[114] Miller Scrapbook, 2, and Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 81.

[115] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 168.

[116] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 168.

[117] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 168.

[118] Schwantes, Coxey's Army, 178-85. The New York Times printed Coxey's speech on 2 May 1894, faithfully reproducing the 1,000-word text but managing a parting shot at Coxey in the headline: "The Protest Coxey Didn't Read: Wail Over Fancied Oppression and a Plea for Unstable Currency." Copies of the speech also appeared in other newspapers, and, on May 9, in Congressional Record. Senator William Allen of Nebraska introduced a resolution calling for a congressional investigation of Coxey's arrest, but it never came to a vote. See Congressional Record, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, 4511-4518, 4564-4571, 4591.

[119] "Army at the Capitol" and "Coxey and Browne Arrested," The Evening Independent, 1 May 1894.

[120] "Coxey at the Capitol," The Evening Independent, 1 May 1894.

[121] Baker, American Chronicle, 25.

[122] Gustaitis, "Coxey's Army," 44.

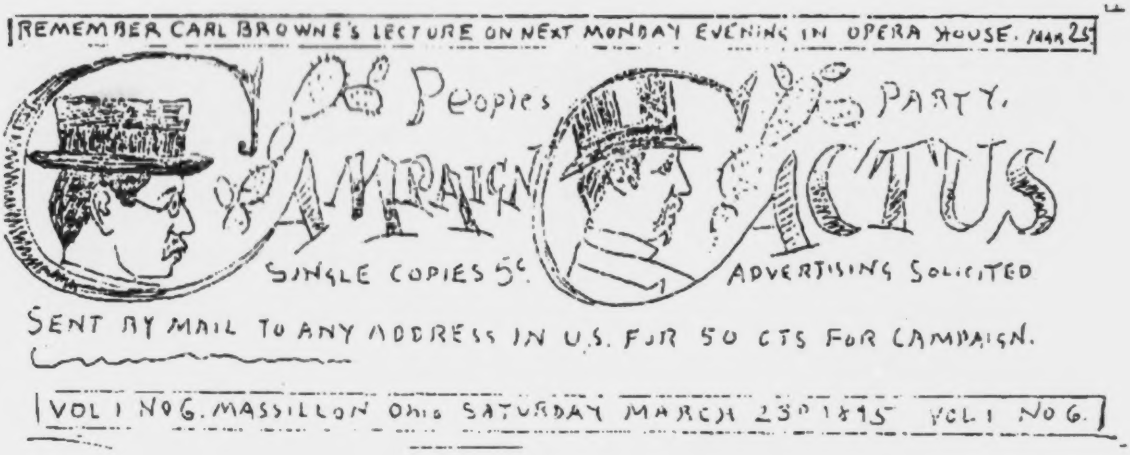
[123] I am indebted to Richard Vedder, Ohio University distinguised professor of economics, for suggesting this comparison.

[124] Dicken-Garcia said the word "objectivity" did not come into common use until the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nineteenth-century journalists used the word "impartiality" when describing a lack of political bias in their news columns.

Furthermore, she said there was little analysis of "truth" among nineteenth-century journalists and press critics. See Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards, 98.

[125] Miller Scrapbook, 74.

[126] Garet Garrett, "The Driver," Saturday Evening Post, 24 December 1921, 41.



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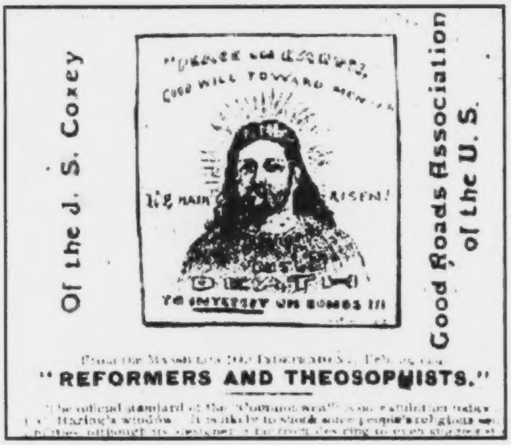

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GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN"
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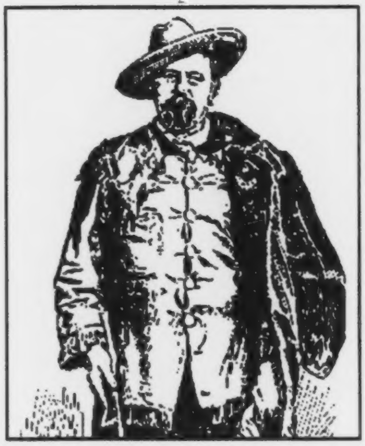
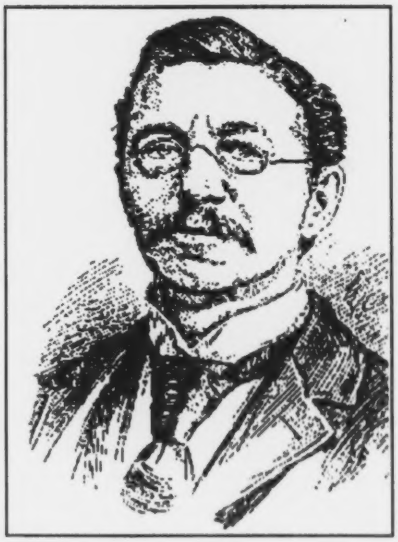
DEATH
TO INTEREST ON BONDS!!!

"REFORMERS AND THEOSOPHISTS."





Top: The flag of a political newspaper that Carl Browne produced in 1895 contained his cartoon profiles of Jacob Coxey (left) and himself. (Coxey Archives, Massillon Museum, Massillon, Ohio.)

Above, left: The cover of Coxey's "Bulletin No. 3," printed in February 1894, reproduced the banner of Christ that Browne painted for Coxey's Army. (Coxey Archives, Massillon Museum.)

Above, right: *The Chautauquan* magazine printed this drawing of Browne in June 1894. Note the resemblance to his painting of Christ.

Left: Coxey as he appeared in *The Chautauquan*, June 1894.

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Defying the Ku Klux Klan:

Three 1920s Newspapers Challenge the Most Powerful Nativist Movement in American History

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Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

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In the fall of 1915, a strange spectacle unfolded outside of Atlanta when William Joseph Simmons led a dozen men up a rocky trail on the imposing granite crest of Stone Mountain. As the night wind whipped the American flag that the men carried, Simmons ignited a pine cross that lit up the Georgia sky. Against this theatrical backdrop and with *Bible* in hand, the former preacher and insurance salesman led his followers in a vow of allegiance to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

That dramatic ceremony expanded, during the next decade, into a nationwide organization that inflamed America's social and political landscape, providing a mooring to the thousands of frightened and disoriented Americans who had been uprooted by the rapid changes that erupted during the 1920s. The KKK offered them a sense of fraternity, a commitment to self-defined traditional American values, and a long list of people to blame for the social upheaval--Catholics, Jews, blacks, and recent immigrants.

The Invisible Empire became a force to be reckoned with. In Texas, klansmen elected one of their own to the United States Senate. Oregon KKKers captured the governorship and enough of the legislature to ban all parochial schools. The klan elected two senators in Colorado and both senators as well as the governor in Indiana. In 1925, the klan invaded the nation's capital with 40,000 robed figures parading boldly down Pennsylvania Avenue.

Then the tide turned. By the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929, the klan's power had faded into history--at least for the time being. The Invisible Empire's decline can be attributed partly to its lethal combination of violence, politics, and exploitative leadership, as well as its failure to produce the results it promised. But as during so many other chapters of American history, another critical element was the Fourth Estate. For while much of the American press either supported the klan or remained silent on the incendiary topic, a handful of newspapers crusaded against the Ku Klux Klan with all their might.

The goal of this paper is to examine how three courageous newspapers challenged the klan and, in so doing, helped to end its reign of terror during the 1920s. The present study looks first at the seminal anti-klan campaign that began with a blockbuster exposé in the *New York World* in 1921, in which a series of articles documented the organization's immorality and violence in riveting detail. The study next looks at the campaign two years later when the *Commercial Appeal* in Memphis combined compelling front-page cartoons with relentless reporting in a courageous effort to defy the klan in that Tennessee city. Finally, the study examines how Alabama's *Montgomery Advertiser* concentrated its blistering assaults, delivered largely during 1927, on the editorial page. In each case, this paper details how these three newspapers conducted their anti-klan efforts and earned national acclaim as well as Pulitzer Prizes, the highest honor in American journalism.

The present study depends largely on primary sources in the form of the news articles, editorials, editorial cartoons, and letters to the editor published in the three newspapers, as well as news coverage of the crusades and their impact. As secondary sources, this study uses the relatively small number of histories of the Ku Klux Klan and histories of American journalism that discuss the three newspaper crusades at any length.[1]

Despite the dearth of previous scholarship on this topic, each of the journalistic voices clearly displayed considerable courage in helping to destroy the most powerful nativist organization in American history. United States Representative Peter F. Tague told a congressional hearing called to investigate the klan: "It has only been through the searching investigation of the great newspapers of the country that the evidence has been brought to the surface."[2] Ku Klux Klan scholar Kenneth T. Jackson expressed a similar sentiment, saying: "Opposition from the newspapers severely damaged the Klan."[3]

Sweeping the Nation

Confederate veterans organized the original Ku Klux Klan in 1866 in hopes of preventing former slaves from exercising their recently acquired rights and to keep in check the carpetbaggers who invaded from the North. Within three years, they felt they had completed their work, and the KKK ceased to exist.

After Simmons revived the klan in 1915, his band of white-robed followers remained minuscule until 1920 when two enterprising promoters recognized the klan as a financial gold mine. Edward Young Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler persuaded Simmons to pay them one-fourth of the ten dollars each new member paid--an arrangement that ultimately yielded the recruiters the handsome sum of $30,000 a week. Propelled by Clarke's ambition and Tyler's craftiness, klan membership soared to four million by 1924. In addition, the Invisible Empire mushroomed into a national phenomenon, exploding in numbers and influence throughout the West, Midwest, and Northeast, while continuing to grow in the South as well.

Clarke and Tyler urged their 200 recruiters to make full use of propaganda films such as *The Face at Your Window*, mass lectures organized exclusively for "one hundred percent Americans," and subscriptions to a whole phalanx of klan publications--*Fiery Cross* in Indianapolis, *Badger-American* in Milwaukee, *Watcher on the Tower* in Seattle. In whatever form recruiters communicated, they filled their rhetoric with such loaded phrases as "just laws," "pure womanhood," and "the tenets of the Christian religion"--all crafted to communicate that the country was being overrun by enemies within. KKK recruiters promised to provide better schools, improve law enforcement, and hold fast to the traditional values being threatened by the socially permissive Roaring Twenties.

Klan growth was aided by the prevailing mood among many Americans. President Woodrow Wilson's heartfelt pledge that World War I would make the world safe for democracy had produced a palpable idealism among the American people, but the armistice had failed to deliver the millennium. When the United States Senate repudiated the League of Nations and Europe was again reduced to a gaggle of squabbling nations, Americans became disillusioned. In addition, the all-out war effort was not easily put aside; wartime hatred for the Germans was transformed into a peacetime suspicion of everything foreign--which the KKK eagerly capitalized on.

For the most part, American journalism did not stand in the way, as most newspapers quavered in fear of the klan's burgeoning power. Unwilling to challenge the klan and its broadening network of support, editors either covered the public events and official announcements of the KKK as they did those of other fraternal organizations or maintained a stoic silence regarding this secret society that each day was growing larger and more powerful.

The *New York World* Hurls a Hand Grenade

The first and most comprehensive journalistic crusade in defiance of the klan was a no-holds-barred exposé in the newspaper that Joseph Pulitzer had built to legendary proportions. The *New York World* promoted its September 1921 blockbuster with full-page ads that screamed, in three-inch letters: "KU KLUX KLAN EXPOSED!"[4] And what the ads promised, the series delivered. The opening article characterized the klan's growth as a financial scam that had bilked members out of $40 million in initiation fees and charges for klan regalia. "The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.," the sensational story read, "has become a vast enterprise, doing a thriving business in the systematic sale of race hatred, religious bigotry, and '100 percent' *anti*-Americanism."[5]

The series continued full throttle day after day for three solid weeks, boldly and relentlessly answering tantalizing questions about the mysterious organization. *World* reporter Rowland Thomas had studied hundreds of klan documents and interviewed dozens of disenchanted members. He received his biggest boost from former klan officer Henry R. Fry, who had joined the KKK thinking it was a fraternal order like the Elks or Odd Fellows. After learning the organization was founded on bigotry and hatred, however, he quit--and then gave the *World* hundreds of documents. Thomas, a novelist at heart, pored over the material and then wrote about it with passion and unrestrained zeal, knowing that all of America was eager to hear every detail.

Although the exposé was written in a sensational style, the *World* was as committed to destroying the klan as it was to building its own circulation. To ensure the series had maximum impact, the *World* syndicated it to eighteen dailies around the country. With such major voices as the *Boston Globe* and *Pittsburgh Sun* in the East, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *Cleveland Plain-Dealer* in the Midwest, *Seattle Times* and Oklahoma City *Oklahoman* in the West, and *New Orleans Times-Picayune* and *Dallas Morning News* in the South reprinting the articles, the series held more than two million readers spellbound each day.

The series missed nothing. It documented every facet of the klan's growth and national network. One article reported that Simmons advocated a return to chattel slavery,[6] while another quoted lawyers saying the klan oath was illegal because it required members to obey the Imperial Wizard even when his orders conflicted with the United States Constitution.[7] Still another meticulously recorded the name and address of 214 recruiters--from E. Y. Clarke, Imperial Kleagle, Suite 501 Flatiron Building, Atlanta, to W. S.

Coburn, Grand Goblin, 519 Haas Building, Los Angeles--much as a newspaper might report the names on an FBI most wanted list.[8]

To be sure the series held the public's attention, editors packaged each installment with compelling artwork. One memorable graphic element was a facsimile of the application form each member completed--with questions reading "Were your parents born in the United States?" and "Are you a jew?"[9] Other eye-popping images were created by reproducing some of the letters the *World* received from anonymous klansmen. One hand-scrawled letter reprinted on the front page read: "You will seal your death warrant. Watch out - you nigger lovers."[10] Another letter, marked with a skull and crossbones, read: "KU KLUX KLAN - DEATH ULTIMATUM to the WORLD - You will have the pleasure to receive the necessary punishment for the publication of your series of articles regarding the Secrets of our powerful and holly [sic] ORDER. BEWARE."[11]

One of the paper's most explosive articles revealed the immorality of the organization's two master recruiters. The *World* reported that during a 1919 raid on a house of prostitution, Atlanta police had identified the drunken occupants of one bed as Tyler, who was widowed, and Clarke, who was married--but not to Tyler. A judge found them guilty of disorderly conduct.[12]

In a desperate attempt to protect the KKK's reputation, Atlanta klansmen immediately purchased all 3,000 copies of the *World* available in the city on the day the Clarke-Tyler story broke. When that effort failed and word of the peccadillo spread, klan officials accused the *World* of libel, swearing the Atlanta

Police Department had no record of such an arrest and threatening to file a $10 million libel suit against the paper.

When Thomas returned to Atlanta to re-examine the records, he discovered that the incriminating pages had been cut out of the police file. Thomas had, during his earlier investigation, procured certified copies of the records, but the incident demonstrated that the klan's reach extended even to Atlanta law enforcement officers. It was fortunate that Thomas had secured the copies, as it was only after he produced them that the klan withdrew its threat of a libel suit.

As the klan cowered, the *World* went beyond reporting. In one pro-active effort, the paper contacted New York public officials and forced them to go on the record either opposing or supporting the klan. Because their comments would become part of the *World*'s devastating exposé, the officials had little choice but to criticize the klan, thereby providing the newspaper with public statements it could revive when the Invisible Empire tried to make inroads into New York City. In response to the paper's inquiry, the president of the borough of Brooklyn said: "The Ku Klux Klan is an un-American movement,"[13] and New York City's police commissioner railed: "There is no room in America for an organization of religious and racial bigots."[14] The *World* kept up the pressure for officials to take formal action against the klan. After several weeks of the paper's incessant badgering, the New York Board of Aldermen finally adopted a resolution "condemning the lawless organization of infamy and of anarchy, of race and religious prejudice and hate."[15]

The *World* climaxed its campaign with a withering summary of klan violence. Thomas began the article with impassioned rhetoric, saying of the klan: "For the forces of the law it substitutes terrorism, replacing trial and punishment of offenders with anonymous threats and masked infliction of vengeance."[16] Next to the dramatic prose ran a tabulated list of outrages attributed to the Invisible Empire: four murders, twenty-seven tar and featherings, forty-one floggings--a total of 152 violent acts.[17]

Readers applauded the bold journalistic venture. One woman gushed: "I consider *The World's* revelations regarding the Ku Klux Klan a public service of the highest type."[18] An attorney wrote of the paper: "I wish it every success in its efforts to suppress this organization."[19] The president of an organization of recent immigrants spoke for thousands when he said: "The League of Foreign Born Citizens congratulates *The World* upon its public service in vindication of the hope that America will remain the land of liberty without distinction of race, creed or nationality."[20]

The most stunning result of the series was a decision by the House of Representatives to investigate the klan. A mere two weeks after the exposé ended, Representative Peter F. Tague of Massachusetts opened the hearings by eulogizing the *World* and placing the series into evidence.[21] Representative Leonidas C. Dyer of Missouri added his commendation: "I want to express to the *New York World* my great appreciation of the work it has done in bringing the facts to the attention of the public."[22]

As further evidence of the pivotal role the *World* had played, the congressmen called Rowland Thomas as their first witness. But Thomas took the high road, refusing to reveal any information that had not already appeared in print and saying simply: "We attempted always without bias to get an accurate statement of the facts."[23]

Thomas's brief comments were eclipsed by three days of theatrical testimony by the man who quickly emerged as the star of the hearings: Imperial Wizard William Joseph Simmons. Before his testimony began, Representative William Upshaw of Georgia set the stage. One of the first klansmen elected to Congress, Upshaw extolled Simmons effusively: "Knowing his sterling character as I do, I am prepared to underwrite his every utterance as the truth of an honest, patriotic man."[24]

Charming and courtly, sixty-year-old Simmons portrayed himself as a kindly Southern gentleman who had been viciously maligned by a mercenary Northern newspaper. He spoke eloquently of the KKK's benevolent purposes as a defender of America and swore the klan neither endorsed nor participated in violence of any sort, asserting the outrages attributed to it had been committed by criminals hiding behind klan robes. After refuting all charges, Simmons dramatically swore: "Here in the presence of God, before this committee of one of the greatest law making and deliberative bodies in the world, and standing in the shadow of the Capitol of our great nation, I say to you, gentlemen, that if the Ku Klux Klan was guilty of a hundredth part of the charges that have been made against us, I would forever disband the klan in every section of the United States." After delivering his well-rehearsed statement with ultimate flair, Simmons collapsed in a faint.[25]

Besides defending the klan, Simmons used his time in the spotlight to attack the *World*. Reinforcing a racial stereotype of Jews, the Southern Methodist minister raised his nose slightly before telling the congressmen: "The attacks against the klan were originated and started by the *New York World*, which is owned and controlled by a Jew, Mr. Pulitzer, whose main purpose is circulation and revenue."[26]

Simmons's testimony was a triumph. By using the techniques of a showman and appealing to prejudice, he masterfully shifted public opinion regarding the klan. After three days of his oratory, many members of Congress and much of the American populace ceased to see the KKK as a demon and suddenly saw it as a hapless victim. In this new climate, Representative Upshaw introduced a bill stating that if the klan were prosecuted, similar investigations would be conducted of the Knights of Columbus, the Freemasons, and other fraternal societies. The klan hearings quickly ended.

This surprise development was soon followed by an even more shocking one. For in one of the more ironic twists in the history of American journalism, the *World* soon discovered that its bold campaign had totally backfired. The New York editors gradually came to learn the painful lesson that legions of news people of every generation have been forced to accept: Editors often are out of touch with their readers.

In this instance, the *World* editors finally had to acknowledge that their sensational crusade ultimately had not destroyed the klan, but--quite the opposite--had given it a tremendous boost. For by reporting the KKK's insidious acts of bigotry and violence, the series described in glorious detail the exact elements of the klan that potential members found so appealing. The widely-printed series, in fact, gave the klan its first national publicity--free of charge. Before these masses of frustrated Americans read the series, many of them had never heard of this secret society that offered members a way to fight change while hiding under the anonymity of hoods. By the end of the series, KKK recruiters were finding thousands of worried citizens, especially in the West and Midwest, who were not outraged by what they read but were eager to join the klan. Hundreds of zealots even clipped the application form straight from the *World*, filled it in, and mailed it to Atlanta with their membershiup fee. Historians have stated while the series increased the *World*'s circulation by 100,000, it also boosted klan membership by several thousand.[27]

So as the *World* basked in the glory of winning the 1922 Pulitzer Prize for public service for its series on the klan, the newspaper could not ignore the fact that its reporting had spurred the growth of the organization and that Simmons's dramatic performance on Capitol Hill had stymied the momentum to stop the klan. The Invisible Empire clearly was a formidable force that would not be defeated merely by one series of newspaper articles.[28]

The *Commercial Appeal* Engages in Hand-to-Hand Combat

The next major battlefield in the klan-newspaper war was Memphis, where by 1923 the klan boasted a membership of 10,000.

The city's major newspaper, the *Commercial Appeal*, gave the klan no quarter, with editor C. P. J. Mooney condemning the klan's use of vigilante violence as a means of terrorizing the city's African Americans, Catholics, and Jews. "The law is the soul of the nation," Mooney wrote. "No aggregation of individuals has a right to take unto themselves the duties of judges and juries."[29]

Even more effective than the editorials were the bruising front-page cartoons drawn by J. P. Alley, who portrayed klansmen as cowardly feigns hiding behind masks and bedsheets as they preyed upon the powerless. One showed a brawny man towering over a frail woman lying helpless on the ground as the man lashed a bull whip across her back. The caption read: "His 'noble work,' done in the dark!"[30] Another showed a hooded klan member being ordered to unmask. In the next frame, the face was revealed as grotesquely ugly. The caption read: "No wonder he puts a sack over that mug!"[31] One of the most compelling of Alley's drawings juxtaposed a man draped in a white bedsheet and wearing the label "100% American" against a uniformed World War I veteran whose military duty had cost him one of his legs; the soldier smirked, angled his thumb toward the robed figure, and said sarcastically: "I'm unworthy--my religion ain't right!"[32]

Local klansmen recognized the potential damage of the drawings and sent Alley threatening letters. Undaunted, the cartoonist not only continued his attack but depicted the intimidation tactics in a cartoon. It showed the artist sitting at his drawing table when a hooded figure approached him, knocked him off his chair, and threatened him with a huge club. Another frame showed Alley opening a letter to find the word "Warning." But the final frame showed Alley back at his drawing table, hard at work. The caption read: "The Trials of a Cartoonist."[33]

The *Commercial Appeal*'s reporting staff concentrated its efforts on showcasing the internal struggles that befell the klan as the organization showed increasing signs of dissension from within. When Hiram W. Evans and J. A. Comer challenged Simmons's leadership, the newspaper transformed the conflict into front-page news. Reveling in the vicious infighting, the *Commercial Appeal* milked the story for all it was worth. One article read: "Charges of 'money-grabbing' made by J. A. Comer, grand dragon of the realm of Arkansas, were answered by similar charges by Emperor Simmons, who referred to several 'deals' in which Comer profited."[34] Another article quoted Simmons calling Evans a "coward" and saying the klan was "tottering" under the new leadership.[35]

The war between the klan and the *Commercial Appeal* intensified when the Invisible Empire became the key issue in the 1923 election. After Mayor Rowlett Paine rejected invitations to join the klan, the hooded society nominated W. Joe Wood for mayor and four other klansmen for the Memphis City Commission. In an act of intimidation, the klan located its campaign headquarters in an office across the street from the Commercial Appeal Building.

The KKK raised the campaign to a fever pitch, with nightly meetings in the Lyric Theater where Wood and his fellow candidates stood on either side of a white floral cross while 2,000 klansmen crowded together to hear speakers decry the Pope and international Jewish bankers. During the rowdy meetings, every mention of the klan brought applause, whistles, and a thunderous stomping of feet, while each reference to Mayor Paine or the *Commercial Appeal* drew boos, catcalls, and curses.

As the election neared and tension built, national klan leaders descended on the city, with Evans predicting a klan rout. Intimidation tactics mounted as well, with the klan's *Tri-State American* newspaper warning voters: "If you fail to fulfill the duty you owe to your family, the Ku Klux Klan will banish you and report your negligence to the duly constituted authorities."[36] Mayor Paine was continuously threatened, too, as crosses were burned in his yard almost nightly.

Mooney wrote somberly: "The eyes of the nation are on Memphis,"[37] and the *Commercial Appeal* went into a full-court press. Each day the paper portrayed the klan as a wicked and violent force in American life. When Louisiana law officials investigated possible klan involvement in the deaths of two men in that state, the accusations covered page one,[38] as did a Philadelphia man's legal effort to dissolve the klan.[39] And when the Invisible Empire's top publicity agent shot the organization's chief counsel in Atlanta, the *Commercial Appeal* made the incident its lead story three days in a row, spawning such fiery headlines as: "Bloody

Climax in Klan Feud" and "Victim and Slayer in Klan Blood-Feud."[40]

On election day, the editorial page carried two rhetorical denunciations of the klan,[41] and page one offered three stridently anti-klan articles, including accusations of a tar and feathering in Texas and the beating of an elderly woman in Alabama.[42] On that crucial day, Mooney reserved the back page for a dramatic statement from the local veterans organization. One side of the page showed a white-robed klansman, the other a World War I soldier. The two-inch-high headline asked: "Which? The MEN Who Wear THE HOOD or THE MEN Who Wore the UNIFORM?" The statement was signed: "The Vets Club Campaign Committee."[43]

But the most memorable editorial element in that election day issue appeared on the front page where Alley created one of his most compelling cartoons. The eloquently simple drawing showed a man's hand covered in a white glove so the thumb and each finger looked like a klansman wearing a pointed white hood, the middle finger labeled "Mayor" and each of the other four marked "Commissioner." On the shirtsleeve were written the words "Imperial Wizard of Atlanta." The cartoon's message was clear: If local klan candidates were elected, they would be mere puppets of Simmons and his diabolical campaign to make hatred America's driving value. The caption read: "The Sinister Hand. 'HALT, MEMPHIS!'"[44]

Election day chaos was unparalleled. Klansmen distributed literature outside every polling place, and police sent riot alarms from fifteen precincts. When the ballots began to be counted, a mob of 400 klansmen demanded that the counting be in public. The men forced election officials into the street, surrounded them, and insisted that they count the ballots by the light of a huge bonfire. When the police arrived, they managed to take possession of the ballot box and move it to the courthouse in a police car--only by agreeing that a klan leader could keep the box constantly in his sight. Even then, dozens of automobiles filled with angry klansmen followed threateningly behind the police car.

Despite the rousing political rallies, intimidating tactics, and election-day antics, the klan was soundly defeated. Mayor Paine and his commissioners were re-elected by a stunning sixty percent of the vote. When Paine led his followers in a jubilant victory parade through downtown, he stopped in front of the Commercial Appeal Building and directed the band to serenade the newspaper in honor of its decisive role in the election.[45]

In fact, when the results were announced, the entire nation seemed to breathe a sigh of relief. The *New York Times* hailed the election as "the biggest black eye the klan has yet received" and showered much of the credit on the *Commercial Appeal*.[46] The most substantial paean, though, came from another New York institution when the School of Journalism at Columbia University awarded the *Commercial Appeal* the 1923 Pulitzer Prize for public service. The citation lauded the newspaper's "courageous attitude in the publication of cartoons and the handling of news in reference to the Ku Klux Klan."[47]

The *Montgomery Advertiser* Wages War in the Deep South

While the *World's* and *Commercial Appeal's* anti-klan crusades were courageous, in one way a third newspaper deserves even more applause. For this journalistic voice waged its battles in what, during the 1920s when the Ku Klux Klan was at its peak, can only be described as the belly of the beast: the Deep South.

Both Simmons and Evans came from central Alabama where the *Montgomery Advertiser* was published, helping build the state into a southern stronghold. The Alabama branch of the Invisible Empire reached the zenith of its political power in 1926 when it sent Hugo Black to Washington as senator and elected Bibb Graves governor.

The most sinister sign of the klan was not in polling places or store windows, however, but in secluded spots on country roads. For in response to what Alabama klansmen perceived as the reprehensible moral decay of the 1920s, they imposed a self-defined code of personal behavior that they enforced through acts of physical violence. Specifically, klansmen meted out their vigilante justice through floggings. Exactly how many men and women were kidnapped and lashed with bull whips will never be known, but the figure was at least in the hundreds--possibly in the thousands. Many victims were beaten because the klan objected to their gambling or drinking habits; others suffered solely because of their color, religion, or ethnic background.

In 1927, the lone journalistic voice raised in opposition to flogging was that of Grover Cleveland Hall, editor of the *Montgomery Advertiser*. His editorials often recounted the appalling details of specific incidents, such as the time a mob of masked klansmen descended on Arthur Hitt, a respected African-American farmer, and "beat him unmercifully" until he sold them his farm for $80, even though the mineral-laden land was worth ten times that amount. Hall wrote: "It is perfectly outrageous that a negro or any other person should be bullied and frightened into sacrificing the fruits of a lifetime of toil in order to save his life." Hall ended the editorial with a dramatic question: "How long, O Lord, how long?"[48]

The violence could be stopped, Hall argued, if a state law prohibited people from wearing masks: "The flogging evil cannot be effectively grappled with until it is made unlawful in Alabama to wear disguises in public places, and made a felony for men thus disguised to attack citizens of this state."[49]

Hall did not, however, speak for all of Alabama journalism. Many newspapers supported flogging, commending the klan for providing the moral leadership that, the papers argued, public officials were not. In its defense of the klan's vigilante activities, the *Alabama Christian Advocate* argued that flogging victims deserved the treatment they received: "They are menaces to their communities."[50] Many newspapers that refused to criticize flogging did not hesitate to attack the *Advertiser*. Calling Hall's editorial crusade "hysterical paroxysm,"[51] the *Monroe Journal* wrote: "Just what good purpose the *Advertiser* imagines might be served by unrestrained denunciation of this particular form of criminality we fail to fathom."[52] The *Evergreen Courant* made the same point, asking: "Why raise such a howl?"[53]

Hall would brook no compromise. Instead of backing off, he adopted the additional tactic of reprinting the statements of outrage that began to appear in the Northern press as word of the floggings spread. An item that initially appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune* screamed: "When a mob of masked men invades a citizen's home at night, renders him helpless and then takes his wife out of bed, ties her to a barrel in the front yard and flogs her, is there any punishment within the law too drastic for the crime? We doubt it,"[54] while one that first appeared in the *Milwaukee Journal* asked of Alabama: "Aren't there enough men down there to say that there must be an end to this bigotry and intolerance and brutality? Isn't there someone strong enough to lead a successful movement to blot out this new monstrosity?"[55] The *New York Times* wrote indignantly that it should surprise no one that floggers were not indicted: "The floggings are attributed to the salutary moral forces of the Ku Klux Klan, the ruler of Alabama."[56] Hall reproduced each negative characterization of Alabama, along with his own comments about how the klan was damaging the state's reputation.

By the end of the summer of 1927, Hall had succeeded in stirring public sentiment to the point that public officials could no longer ignore the KKK's violence. On the local level, police began investigating floggings and making arrests. When they did, Hall trumpeted the news in huge headlines. When seven men were charged in one county, five in another, and three in a third, the editor opted not to write three small items but pulled all the arrests together to create a major story showcased under the banner headline: "FIFTEEN PERSONS JAILED IN LASH PROBE,"[57] and to laud the arrests with a flurry of editorials such as "Alabama's Good Name Vindicated."[58] With the one-two punch of blockbuster news stories and rousing editorials, Hall ensured that the actions were branded into the public consciousness with such intensity that law enforcement officials had no choice but to prosecute the floggers. And when the men were tried and sentenced, Hall pulled out all the stops to provide headlines as well as editorial hosannahs. He hailed one decision with the banner headline "CLAYTON GETS 8 TO 10 YEARS AS FLOGGER," as well as a twenty-inch story and photos of the flogger, victim, and judge--all on page one.[59] On the editorial page under the headline "The Knell of Barbarism in Alabama," the editor was elated: "We rejoice that Alabama has redeemed itself."[60]

Public opinion prompted action in the state legislature as well, for the elected representatives from throughout Alabama who came to the capital city also were influenced by Hall's crusade. Progressive legislators in both houses introduced tough anti-mask bills calling for exactly what Hall had advocated: to outlaw masks and robes such as those worn by KKKers, and to stipulate that masked floggers would be tried as felons. Hall threw his editorial weight behind the proposals: "The bills are an honest effort to go to the heart of the evils that have grown out of the use of hood and robe. They are designed to end terrorism in Alabama."[61]

Klansmen in the legislature, however, responded to the tough proposals by mounting a formidable defense. When Governor Graves sided with the pro-mask legislators, the fate of the anti-mask proposals were sealed. They were soundly defeated.

But Hall's battles with the state legislature had only just begun. In hopes of silencing the editor, klansmen in the state house proposed what became known as the "muzzling" bills. The sponsors of the highly reactionary bills said they would protect the state's national reputation, which the men argued had been severely damaged by the unfavorable publicity that Hall's crusade had propagated throughout the country. As evidence, the legislators cited the various editorials from newspapers such as the *Milwaukee Journal* and *New York Times* that Hall had reprinted.

To quiet the *Advertiser*, the legislators proposed broadening state libel laws to an unprecedented degree. According to the bills, any newspaper that published information that was deemed to be false and damaging to the state would be fined $25,000. The diabolical element of the legislation concerned who would do the deeming. Specifically, a widely circulated paper such as the *Advertiser* could be sued in every county where it circulated. That meant the decision about whether a particular statement was libelous could be decided by a jury of klansmen in any remote county in the state. In addition, the bills stipulated that no higher court could alter the verdict of the original jury. And, finally, the legislation was retroactive to the previous year, meaning the *Advertiser* could be fined for all the negative statements it had made about the KKK during the anti-mask campaign.

Hall's criticism of the proposed legislation was ferocious: "A ruthless machine, drunk with power and maddened by editorial darts and flings, strikes at its foe, the press--and hits the friend of man, namely: The constitutional safeguard of freedom."[62] He railed against the legislation, pointing out that it directly violated the First Amendment: "These bills are designed to kill freedom of the press in Alabama. They are a malicious, tyrannical, outrageous scheme to bulldoze and punish a free press."[63]

Despite Hall's searing attacks, Governor Graves lobbied hard for the muzzling bills, calling anti-klan legislators to his office for private meetings. National and state klan leaders swarmed to Montgomery to lobby for the legislation as well. The bills moved through the House Judiciary Committee and onto the House floor, prompting what the *Advertiser* labeled "a four-hour battle which transcended in heat and passion legislative battles for a score of years." The final vote could not have been closer. But with forty-eight in favor and forty-eight opposed, the bills failed.[64]

Hall was recognized for his courage in defying the klan when he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. The citation read: "Grover Cleveland Hall, *Montgomery Advertiser*, for his editorials against gangsterism, floggings, and racial and religious intolerance."[65]

Turning Back the Ku Klux Klan

While the Pulitzer Prize is journalism's highest honor, newspapers truly dedicated to serving the public find even greater reward in having positive impact on their communities. The *New*

York World, Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, and *Montgomery Advertiser* all found themselves in that cherished position, as each valiant journalistic voice ultimately had the satisfaction of knowing that it had delivered a body blow of no small impact.

Although observers have acknowledged that the *World*'s blockbuster series boosted the klan's growth in the West and Midwest, they have praised its positive impact in New York City. For the newspaper's pro-active effort in getting city officials on the record as opposing the klan played a pivotal role in stopping the klan from gaining a foothold in America's largest urban center. The KKK enjoyed a high profile in New York state, with strong chapters in Albany, Buffalo, Schenectady, Syracuse, and Utica, but recruiters failed utterly in their efforts to attract New York City residents into their membership.[66] The *Commercial Appeal* did the same, as the klan's defeat in the 1923 Memphis elections became a model of how the citizenry of a city could halt the klan--if the city was blessed with a courageous newspaper.[67] Likewise, the *Advertiser* earned praise for its decisive role in stopping the klan's rise to power in the state capital; Alabama's largest city, Birmingham, became a KKK stronghold, but the Invisible Empire failed miserably in efforts to become a power in the state's second largest city.[68]

Scholars who have studied the Ku Klux Klan also have extolled the Fourth Estate more broadly, lauding its vital role in keeping the klan in check. David M. Chalmers wrote in *Hooded Americanism* that the newspapers had more impact on the klan than any other force,"[69] and Kenneth T. Jackson wrote in *The Ku Klux Klan in the City* that the beginning of the country's resistance to the 1920s klan can be dated precisely to the first newspaper exposé.[70]

American journalism historians have echoed these paeans. John Hohenberg wrote in *The Pulitzer Prize Story* that the anti-klan coverage "shows what digging and documenting can do to a seemingly powerful organization."[71] One of the most effusive tributes to journalism's offensive against the klan came in the 1930s, in the immediate wake of the klan's decline, when Silas Bent wrote in *Newspaper Crusaders: A Neglected Story*: "That the klan is widely discredited, and in most places is an object of ridicule, is due to the drubbing administered it by the newspapers."[72] He continued: "In no public issue have the newspapers of this country exhibited sounder editorial sense than in regard to the Ku Klux Klan. In few instances have they worked more effectively and boldly for the general good."[73]

1. See David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1987), 38, 78-82, 198-99; John Hohenberg, ed., *The Pulitzer Prize Story* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 71, 336, 348; Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City: 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 11-12, 254; Silas Bent, *Newspaper Crusaders: A Neglected Story* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries, 1939), 138, 154.

2. "Congressional Committee Told of Outrages by Ku Klux Klan," *New York World*, 12 October 1921, 2.

3. Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 254.

4. "KU KLUX KLAN EXPOSED!," *New York World*, 5 September 1921, 12.

5. Rowland Thomas, "Secrets of the Ku Klux Klan Exposed by the World," *New York World*, 6 September 1921, 1.

6. Rowland Thomas, "Holds Simmons Has Avowed Klan Aims to Restore Slavery," *New York World*, 13 October 1921, 2.

7. Rowland Thomas, "The World Exposes Klan's Oath-Bound Secret Ritual and Ku Klux Tests of Racial and Religious Hate," *New York World*, 10 September 1921, 1.

8. "Kleagles Peddle Membership; Grand Goblin Their District Boss," *New York World*, 9 September 1921, 1-2.

9. "Ku Klux Questionnaire," *New York World*, 10 September 1921, 1.

10. "Received by the World Yesterday," *New York World*, 6 September 1921, 1.

11. "Threat Received by the World," *New York World*, 7 September 1921, 2.

12. Rowland Thomas, "Clarke and Mrs. Tyler Arrested While in House of Ill Repute," *New York World*, 19 September 1921, 1.

13. "U.S. Must Get Rid of Ku Klux Klan, Leaders in Nation's Life Insist," *New York World*, 9 September 1921, 2.

14. "Enright Says Klan Won't Be Permitted to Operate in City," *New York World*, 9 September 1921, 1.

15. "Aldermen Call Klan 'Masked Band of Criminal Lawbreakers,'" *New York World*, 12 October 1921, 2.

16. Rowland Thomas, "Ku Klux's Record of Atrocities Grows," *New York World*, 19 September 1921, 1.

17. "152 Valid Objections," *New York World*, 19 September 1921, 1.

18. Irene Osgood Andrews letter in "U.S. Must Get Rid of Ku Klux, Leaders in Nation's Life Insist," *New York World*, 9 September 1921, 2.

19. George Gordon Battle letter in "U.S. Must Get Rid of Ku Klux, Leaders in Nation's Life Insist," *New York World*, 9 September 1921, 2.

20. Nathaniel Philips letter in "U.S. Must Get Rid of Ku Klux, Leaders in Nation's Life Insist," *New York World*, 9 September 1921, 2.

21. Robert M. Fogelson and Richard E. Rubenstein, eds., *Mass Violence in America: Hearings on the Ku Klux Klan, 1921* (New York: Arno Press, 1969), 4.

22. Fogelson and Rubenstein, *Mass Violence in America*, 6-7.

23. Fogelson and Rubenstein, *Mass Violence in America*, 9.

24. Fogelson and Rubenstein, *Mass Violence in America*, 67.

25. Fogelson and Rubenstein, *Mass Violence in America*, 77.

26. Fogelson and Rubenstein, *Mass Violence in America*, 75.

27. Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 12; Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 38.

28. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 198-99; Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan*, 11; Hohenberg, *Pulitzer Prize Story*, 336.

29. C. P. J. Mooney, "The Affair at Mer Rouge," *Commercial Appeal*, 17 March 1923, 4.

30. "His 'noble work,' done in the dark!," *Commercial Appeal*, 21 August 1923, 1.

31. "No wonder he puts a sack over that mug!," *Commercial Appeal*, 18 September 1923, 1.

32. "I'm unworthy--my religion ain't right!," *Commercial Appeal*, 28 August 1923, 1.

33. "The Trials of a Cartoonist," *Commercial Appeal*, 24 August 1923, 1.

34. "Wizard Evans Silent While Kamelia Gains," *Commercial Appeal*, 15 May 1923, 1.

35. "Come Out in the Open, Challenge to Evans," *Commercial Appeal*, 9 November 1923, 13.

36. "Election," *Tri-State American*, 7 November 1923, 1.

37. "Eyes of Nation Turn to Memphis Election," *Commercial Appeal*, 5 November 1923, 1.

38. "Charge Klan Balked Mer Rouge Inquiry," *Commercial Appeal*, 31 October 1923, 1.

39. "Gov. Walker's Talk to Kluxes Quoted," *Commercial Appeal*, 4 November 1923, 1.

40. *Commercial Appeal*, "Klan's Press Agent Kills Chief Lawyer of Simmons Faction; Bloody Climax in Klan Feud; 'I'm Glad He's Dead,'" 6 November 1923, 1; "Warrants for Arrest of Klan Wizard Evans and Advisors Issued," 7 November 1923, 1; "Victim and Slayer in Klan Blood-Feud," 8 November 1923, 1.

41. C. P. J. Mooney, "The Off-Year Results;" "As An Atlantic Monthly Reader Sees the Klan in Oklahoma," *Commercial Appeal*, 8 November 1923, 6.

42. *Commercial Appeal*, 8 November 1923, 1, "Claims Klan Leaders Demanded Floggings," "Evans Faces Grilling in Klan Feud Mystery," "Victim and Slayer in Klan Blood-Feud."

43. *Commercial Appeal*, 8 November 1923, 26.

44. "The Sinister Hand," *Commercial Appeal*, 8 November 1923, 1.

45. "Paine Wins Victory in Race for Mayor: Kluck Runs Second," *Commercial Appeal*, 9 November 1923, 1.

46. "100,000 Klansmen Go to Fort Wayne," *New York Times*, 10 November 1923, 15.

47. John Hohenberg, ed., *The Pulitzer Prize Story* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 336.

48. Grover Cleveland Hall, "Imperial Jefferson Flogs a Helpless Negro," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 14 July 1927, 4.

49. Grover Cleveland Hall, "UNMASK!," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 14 July 1927, 4.

50. Reprinted from the *Alabama Christian Advocate* in Grover Cleveland Hall, "The Comic Gyrations of 'Fraid Cat Editors," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 31 July 1927, 4.

51. Reprinted from the *Monroe Journal* as "The Advertiser and the Weekly Press," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 23 July 1927, 4.

52. Reprinted from the *Monroe Journal* as "Lawlessness and the Press," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 16 July 1927, 4.

53. Reprinted from the *Evergreen Courant* in Grover Cleveland Hall, "The Comic Gyrations of 'Fraid Cat Editors," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 31 July 1927, 4.

54. Reprinted from the *New York Herald Tribune* as "As Ye Sow," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 21 July 1927, 4.

55. Reprinted from the *Milwaukee Journal* as "'Chivalry' in the South," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 22 July 1927, 4.

56. Reprinted from the *New York Times* as "Alabama Law Enforcement," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 15 July 1927, 4.

57. "FIFTEEN PERSONS JAILED IN LASH PROBE," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 20 July 1927, 1.

58. Grover Cleveland Hall, "Alabama's Good Name Vindicated," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 5 August 1927, 4.

59. "CLAYTON GETS 8 TO 10 YEARS AS FLOGGER," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 7 August 1927, 1.

60. Grover Cleveland Hall, "The Knell of Barbarism in Alabama," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 8 August 1927, 4.

61. Grover Cleveland Hall, "A Shameless Speech for a Sinister Measure," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 21 July 1927, 4.

62. Grover Cleveland Hall, "The State of Silent Treads Threatened with a Silent Press," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 21 August 1927, 4.

63. Grover Cleveland Hall, "The Klan Would Strike Down a Free and Untrammeled Press in Alabama!," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 20 August 1927, 4.

64. "PRESS MUZZLING BILL DEFEATED IN HOUSE," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 24 August 1927, 1.

65. Hohenberg, *Pulitzer Prize Story*, 348.

66. Henry P. Fry, *The Modern Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1922), 247.

67. "100,000 Klansmen Go to Fort Wayne," *New York Times*, 10 November 1923, 15.

68. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 78-82.

69. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*, 38.

70. Jackson, *Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 12.

71. Hohenberg, *Pulitzer Prize Story*, 71.

72. Bent, *Newspaper Crusaders*, 138.

73. Bent, *Newspaper Crusaders*, 154.

The Evolution of the Party News Media Editorship in China: A Historical Study

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The Evolution of the Party News Media Editorship in China: A Historical Study

I

In mass media study, an important area not to neglect is the social existence of journalists as persons. Many particular phenomena of news media, which otherwise might be puzzling, can be better explained by understanding journalists as individual persons. A study of the harsh working conditions of American reporters in the 19th century, for instance, found that the low salaries and pay-by-piece system led reporters to write long rather than concisely, and this contributed to the sensationalism of that century in the United States.[1]

This paper, by examining the biographical information of the editors of major Party news media outlets in China, studies what demographic changes have occurred to the ranks of the editorship of the Party press, and based on the same examination and other materials, explores what possible impact the evolution may have had on Chinese editors (and on the Chinese press eventually).

As is the practice of China's Party journalism, the editor constitutes an important link in the Chinese Communist Party's chain control over the news media in the country. "... The most effective press censorship in China is exercised by editors themselves. They are Party members, and just as an editor of an American corporate house organ knows not to publish employee criticism of management, Chinese editors have a sense of what is correct news and commentary."[2] But what happened in 1989 demonstrated that the link was breaking.

When students in Beijing took to the streets that year, major news media outlets based in the Chinese capital city like the *People's Daily* and the Central Television Station acted out of character for a period of time. They not only devoted an unusually large space or air time to the event but also reported the student-government dispute in a detached way or even in a tone appreciating students. After the crackdown on the student movement in June, the new Party chief Jiang Zemin angrily accused these news media outlets of having gone so far as to "depart from the correct policy and decision of the Party Central Committee and openly sing a different tune to the Party ..." [3] In his speech, the Party chief particularly mentioned the "leaders of such units," or the editors, and blamed them for being at least partially responsible for the "grave mistakes." [4]

China specialists in the United States who noticed changes in the Chinese press usually discussed them against the backdrop of China's overall political and economic changes. There has been little discussion, however, on the topic this paper will deal with, that is, the evolution of the Chinese Communist Party press editorship and its consequences.

Specifically, the paper will examine the difference among the first, second, and third generations of the Party news media editors and look at the profession-based journalistic commitment on the part of later generations in contributing to the conflicts between the Party news media and the Party.

The term editor, when used in a broad sense, refers to the leadership of a news organization, namely, editor-in-chief, publisher, head of station (of a broadcasting unit), and their deputies (deputy editor-in-chief, deputy publisher, and deputy head of station). Otherwise, it means, as it is, an editor-in -chief. The concept major Party news media means national and provincial general news media including those in the three provincial-level cities of Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin. Specialized publications, like *Health News*, and *China Sports News* are excluded. In the pre-1949 period, that is, before the Party came to power, such media are referred to as those directly under the Party Central Committee or regional Party bureaus. In the period prior to the founding of the Communist Party in 1921, they are referred to as those most important in contributing to the establishing of the political party.

Literature Review

Works published so far in the United States on the Chinese press and Chinese journalism are significant in amount. These include occasional news profiles on dissent Chinese editors, like Qin Benli, who headed the banned Shanghai-based *World Economic Herald* in the 1980s, and Hu Jiwei, who started to be a *People's Daily* deputy editor in the 1950s. In the academic field, however, it is difficult to find a systematic study on Chinese editors as a special group. Also, while there is no lack of study on Chinese journalists as a whole, few, if not none, seem to have focused on the issue of evolution to professionalism.[**Footnote** [1]]

On the other hand, however, there are many books and articles that explore the factors contributing to the change of the Chinese press in general. Since editors are part of the press, these references are not irrelevant to the author's study.

A very popular approach in discussing the changes of the Chinese press, as the author found in his literature review, is the political factor approach, which attributes the changes largely to the relaxed Party control since 1978 as a result of the new leadership's adoption of a new line. "Under Deng Xiaoping's leadership the press unquestionably has become more open. Chinese journalists are the first to acknowledge that they are permitted to publish or broadcast news today that would never have been allowed in Mao's day."[5]

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[1] The author reached this point by doing literature review through Lumin (Library of University of Missouri Information Network), and the Eric, Magazine ASAP and Academic Indexes (abstracts of scholarly articles) categories of the Dialog Information Services.

While discussing "the tribulations of China's journalists after a decade of reform," *Voices of China* noted that the discontent of Chinese journalists and its expression "were, ironically and probably inevitably, the outgrowths of the Party's own initiatives." [6] "The shift away from class struggle to modernization, the new acceptance of intellectuals into the ranks of the `working class,' the adoption of market-oriented economic reforms and the commitment to greater democracy in political life were reflected in journalism in many ways." [7] "Aspirations for press freedom, once aroused, cannot be crushed."[8] While presenting "an up-to-date description and analysis of the mass media system" in China, *Mass Media in China, the History and the Future* studied the "shift in Chinese journalistic' perspectives of journalism ...since the end of the Cultural Revolution [1966-1976]." The book noted that "even though politics remains the force behind journalism as well as the number-one news topics in China, the focus is no longer on Marxism -Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but on the practical applications of journalism ... " [9] This change, according to the book, is partially attributable to Deng Xiaoping's new policy. [10]

The second approach, which this author will call the economic factor approach, associates changes regarding the Chinese press with the impact of economic reform. "Better Read than Dead" said, "Newspapers in China are making up for the loss of government subsidies by luring readers with bold, interesting reports of scandals, corruption or pollution. The central government has published a circular warning the papers to control their negative stories." [11] A 1981 *Journal of Communication* article discussing the changing functions of the mass media in China predicted that "Chinese media may one day be indistinguishable from their Western counterparts: promoting consumer goods," among other things. [12]

A 1988 conference paper discussing the impact of economic reform in China noted that the Chinese press as the instrument of the Communist Party is changing though mostly rhetorically rather than in practice. But a part of the rhetoric is driven by the realization that economic development and national modernization cannot continue to move forward without corresponding changes in other social sectors, including the press. [13]

There is also a cultural approach to interpreting factors behind the changes with the Chinese press. A paper presented at AJEMC, using Talcott Parson's cybernetic communication model, explains that the changing roles of mass media will repeat themselves every time there is a major change in the Chinese social system and that China will continue to draw upon some of its formerly established social values. [14] Another conference paper said that the decision of the government to use news media to disseminate information for the modernization drive resulted in an information explosion to a proliferation of non-socialist information which in turn caused some Chinese young people, journalists included, to question the ability of socialism. [15] "Bourgeois Liberalization: The Labeling of Unwanted American Influences by the People's Republic of China " said that the Chinese authorities were unhappy to see "unwanted U.S. influences" in the country, which contributed to the bourgeois liberalization, namely "negating the socialist system in favor of capitalism." [16]

These approaches, I would say, provide a general framework for understanding changes with the Chinese press and editors in the last decade or so. The departure of the Party news media editors from the Party line is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather, the result of all kinds of factors in combination. These approaches, however, have not exhausted all possible aspects. The author's literature review also found that conflicts between the Party news media editors and the Party were not peculiar to the last decade or so. Take the *People's Daily* for instance. There has long been a saying "No editor-in-chief has come to a good end. "[17] In May 1966, Wu Lengxi was removed from his editorship overnight and was sent to the newspaper's morgue to be a librarian. Several months later, the acting editor Tang Pingzhu was put into jail for "viciously accusing the central leaders."[18] In 1972, as Mao criticized a journalist for views in a letter to him, a political campaign was launched inside the *People's Daily* to target a senior journalist "club" for writing erroneous articles. [19] The same was true of the local news media. In the first half of 1966, for instance, the Communist Party under Mao dissolved the editorial boards of three publications in Beijing: the *Beijing Daily, Beijing Evening News*, and *Frontline* (a Party journal), and put them under "military control."[20] In fact, Party news media leaders suffered almost periodic purges in the period of the People's Republic before the time of so-called bourgeois liberalization and economic reform.

Why should the Communist Party so harshly treat its own news media's leaders? Because they were considered as having departed from the Party line. But why should Party press leaders depart from the Party line? The aforementioned political factor, economic factor, or cultural factor approaches do not explain why well enough when the conflicts are viewed historically.

This study is to add to the existing literature one more explanation. That is, the approach that emphasizes conflicts between profession-based journalistic commitment and Party journalism doctrines. It is intended to study the editors as a group and from the viewpoint of historical evolution.

Research Design and Methods

To address the research question, this study will be conducted in two parts, with the first concerned with data analysis and the second with evidence from historical documents.

In the first part, the author is intended to do a sample survey of the evolution of the ranks of the editors since the beginning of the Party press so as to see what happened to the ranks of the editors historically speaking. What makes the survey feasible is the availability of information: large numbers of resumes of Party press editors carried in the *China Journalism Yearbook.* [21]

Compiled by the authoritative Journalism Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the *Yearbook* **[Footnote [2]]** has been introducing "well-knowns in Chinese journalism" since its 1983 issue and has published more than 1,000 biographies so far. These include, as said in the yearbook's Notes from the Editor, 1) "well known persons engaged in journalism throughout their lives; 2) well-known persons, although not life-time long engaged in journalism, launched news publications; 3) well-known persons who do not meet either of the above two requirements, but who used to assume or are assuming important positions in the press and hold some influence; 4) foreigners who contributed greatly to the development of Chinese journalism undertakings." [22] In each issue the journal carries 100-odd resumes in the order of the years of birth. The more than 1,000 people were not selected at once. Each time, only 100-odd people were selected. This enabled the still living people, less famous or less important at a certain time to be selected later on when they become important and famous. It turns out that a large proportion of such well-knowns are editors.

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[2] Reliability of the *China Journalism Yearbook* is discussed in Endnote #21.

The author of this paper used 9 issues of *Yearbook* from 1983 to 1991 and sorted through all the entries in the "well-knows" columns. Some 700 people were excluded from the list to be studied. These are 1) foreigners; 2) journalists associated with Taiwan, Hongkong, or independent forces; 3) journalists associated with the Chinese Communist Party, but under the level of the editor by the time their biographies appeared. So in total, 453 editors come under study.

The list, which carries 453 editors, has the following characteristics:

1. In terms of time span, it covers the period from the very beginning of the Party press to the 1980s, including the earliest editors of the Party press as well as current ones.

2. It covers all the major units of the Party press, from the historical point of view, and excludes less important media.

3. It considers the geographical distribution of news media, including all the provincial-level news media as well as national news media.

4. It includes all sectors of the news media, from newspaper to radio station and from television to news agency.

Although the sample here is not a random sample, the list is quite representative of the leaders of the major Party press units in China, thanks to the carefulness and well-balanced approach of the *Yearbook* in selection over some 10 years. Statistically, this is close to what is called "stratified sampling," which statistics textbooks describe as the one that "yields a highly representative sample." [23]

Based on the commonly agreed division of the stages of development of the Chinese Communist Party, the author will divide the history of the Chinese Party press into three phases.

The first stage started in the late 1910s, when radical intellectuals were preparing for the establishment of the Party. In 1918, for instance, Li Dazhao and Chen Duxiu, two of the most important early Communist Party leaders, launched *Meizhou Pinglun* (Weekly Commentary) in Peking, and Mao Zedong (1893-1976) launched *Xiangjiang Pinglun* in Hunan Province, to spread Communist revolutionary ideas and Marxist doctrines. The second stage began in 1929, when the Communist Party entering war with its former co-operator the Nationalist Party started to establish its own political power in some rural areas of China. In the following 20 years, the Party's force grew continuously with the exception of a few years. As a result, the Communist Party news media also expanded. Besides printed publication, the Party established the Red China News Agency (the predecessor of today's Xinhua News Agency) in 1931, and developed its first radio broadcasting station in 1940. The third stage started in 1949, when the Communist Party defeating the Nationalist Party government seized the national power and founded the People's Republic of China. The Party press enjoyed an unprecedented development to operate all over mainland China.

Accordingly, the paper will classify the editors of the Party news media into three generations. Assuming a person started to work at the age of about 20, those born before 1909 constituted the first generation. In other words, these were old enough to work in the first stage of Party journalism. Those born after 1929 were considered as the third generation. These were old enough to work only after the founding of the People's Republic. Those born between 1909 and 1928 made up the second generation. With

1989 as the year of reference, the younger ones of the second generation were still in power, as an editor usually retires at the age between 60 and 65.

In addition to determining the subjects to be compared, the data analysis also needs to clarify the things to be compared. The author considers the age at which the subjects become an editor in a major Party news media outlet, the length of work experience of the subjects in news media before assuming the editorship, and the assumption of Party or government posts are the three most important things to be compared on.

In the second part of the paper, which is based on the first, the author will look at historical documents in Chinese as other primary sources. Profiles of some editors carried in Chinese-language or English-language publications will also be consulted as secondary sources. Here the author is to "collect, interpret, and then explain his evidence ..."[24] in order to support the arguments raised.

Limitations

The study of the editors as a group has advantages over a single case study because of the former's sheer numbers, which make the results of the study more generalizable. Still, it has its limitations as the editors to be described or categorized are too complicated in the real world. As can be expected, counter-examples can be as easily found as the examples the author tries to raise to support his views. It might be safe, however, if the author aims his study only at outlining a general trend of development.

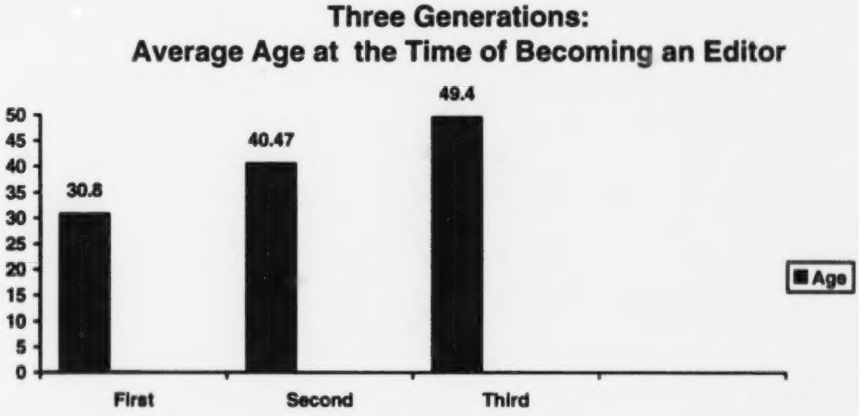
II

Under the standards set above, 53 of the 453 editors fall under the first generation group; 314 are of the second generation group. The third generation consists of 98 persons.

Finding 1 : Age Difference

The average age of the first generation when first becoming the editor of a major Party news media outlet was about 30.8 years. That of the second generation was 40.47 years; and the third generation, 49.4 years. That is illustrated in the following chart.

Figure 1



The analysis of variance test found that there is a statistically significant difference among the three means (average age) as is shown in the following table:

Table 1
Statistical Analysis of Age Difference among Three Generations

Source	Deg. of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob
Between Groups	2	11777.1221	5888.5610	78.8905	.0000
Within Groups	418	31200.4551	76.6422		

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And further analysis employing Tukey's test of pair-wise comparison showed significance at the .05 level for all the three pairs.

Detailed examination of the data collected showed that up to 49 percent of the first generation were under 30 when they became the editor of a major Party news organization. That proportion, however, was only 8.2 percent for the second generation. Among the third generation, none was found to be an editor at this age. Table 2 demonstrates this difference,

Table 2
Three Generations: Percentages of Under-30s as Editors

	First	Second	Third
Percentages	49%	8.2%	0

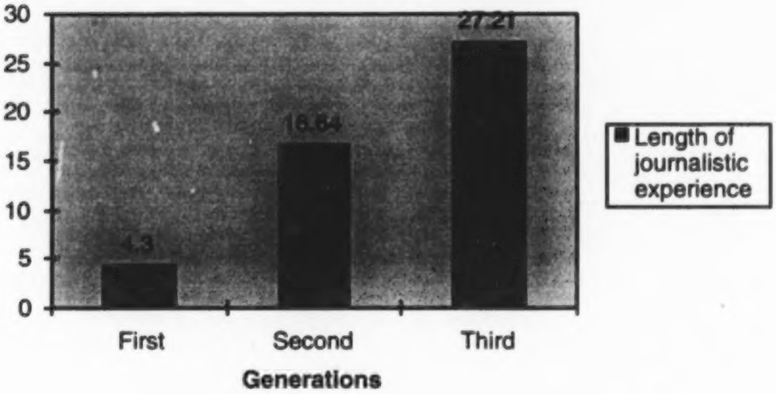
On the other hand, the editors of the three generations started to work in news media at more or less the same age, 26.48 for the first generation, 23.5 for the second generation and 22.03 for the third generations. Thus, there is a sharp difference among the three generations in terms of the length of news media work before becoming an editor of a major Party press unit.

Finding 2: Journalistic Experience Difference

The average length of journalistic experience was about 4.3 years for the first generation prior to their becoming an editor of a major Party press unit; 16.64 years for the second generation, and 27.21 years for the third generation editors. This is illustrated in Figure 2:

Figure 2

Three Generations:
by Average Length of Journalistic Experience Prior to Editorship



The analysis of variance test found that there is a statistically significant difference among the three means (average length of experience), as is shown in the following table:

Table 3
Statistical Analysis of
Length of Experience Difference among Three Generations

Sources	Deg. of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Squares	F Ratio	F Prob
Between Groups	2	17152.4317	8756.2158	94.3027	.0000
Within Groups	410	37286.8371	90.9435		

Also, further analysis employing Tukey's test of pair-wise comparison showed significance at the .05 level for all the three pairs.

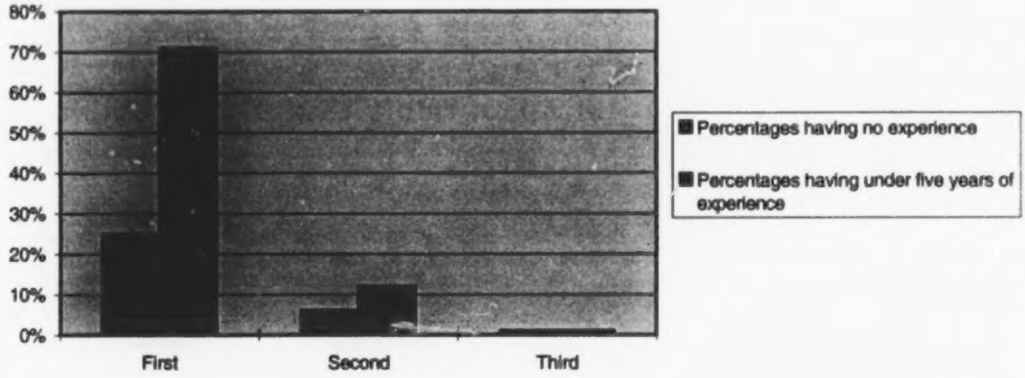
A detailed examination of the data found that *a.* Of the three generations, the first had the shortest average interval between the time a subject first entered a press unit and the time he became the editor of a major Party news organization. The length of the interval was no more than 5 years for 71 percent of the first generation editors. Actually, of the 52 persons that have clear biographical information on this, 13, or 25 percent, had no journalistic experience at all before they become the editor. Here the author used the term "interval" instead of "experience" because some subjects had not been working all the time in news media before they assumed the position of editor in a major Party news organization.

By comparison, six percent of the second generation had no journalistic experience prior to becoming a major Party press unit editor. And those whose journalistic experience was five or less than five years accounted for a smaller percentage of 12 points. Here the author can use the term experience because most of them worked in the news media.

Of the third generation, only one percent had no prior journalistic experience before he became the editor of a major news organization. To the third generation, the term interval is no longer accurate. It should be replaced by the years of experience in journalism. The difference among the three generations in this regard is illustrated in Figure 3.

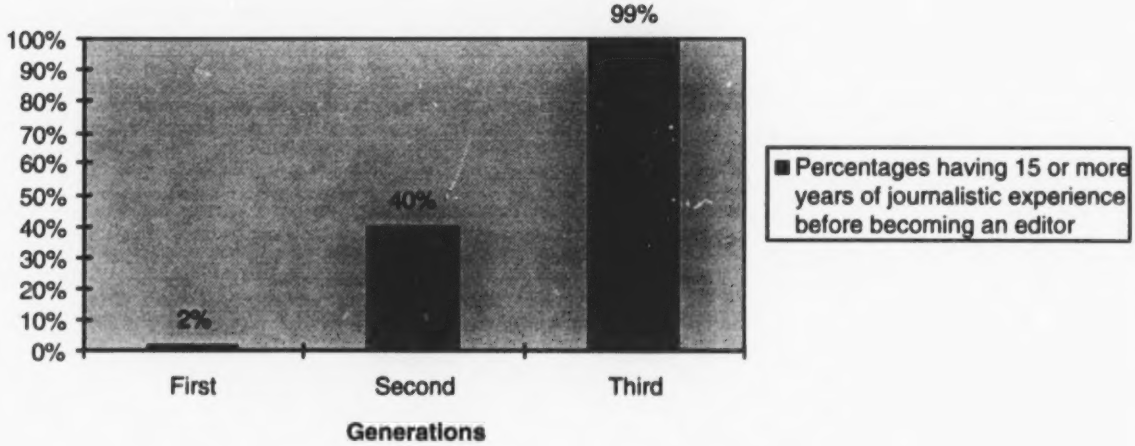
Figure 3

**Three Generations:
Percentages of Having No Journalistic Experience and
Under Five Years of Experience Prior to the Editorship**



b. Of the first generation, those who had worked 15 years or more before becoming an editor accounted for only 2 percent. Of the second generation, however, the proportion was about 40 percent; and of the third generation, 99 percent. Figure 4 illustrates the difference.

Figure 4
Three Generations: Percentages of Having Minimal 15 Years of Journalistic Experience Prior to the Editorship



Finding 3: Level of Government Posts

The third major finding is that all of the first generation editors, with only one exception, held high Party or government posts during and/or after their editorship. The percentage of holding posts at the central level [**Footnote** [3]] was 34 percent; that at the ministerial or provincial level was 43.4 percent, and that at the bureau level was 20.8 percent.

Of the second generation, the proportion of not holding other Party or government posts during or after the editorship was much greater, up to 39.8 percent. For the rest, the posts held (by the time of their retirement or death), generally speaking, were apparently lower than those of the first generation. Those who assumed the posts at the central level accounted for only 0.4 percent; those who were at the minister or provincial level accounted for 8.4 percent. Those who ended up as a bureau-level official accounted for 44.5 percent. Departmental level officials made up for 6.9 percent.

Most of the third generation, nearly 77 percent, did not hold other Party or government posts by the time their biographies appeared. About 16 percent held bureau-level posts during or after their editorship, and 5.3 held department-level posts. The percentage of holding a ministerial level post was only 2. None had entered the central leadership. Figure 5 illustrates the difference.

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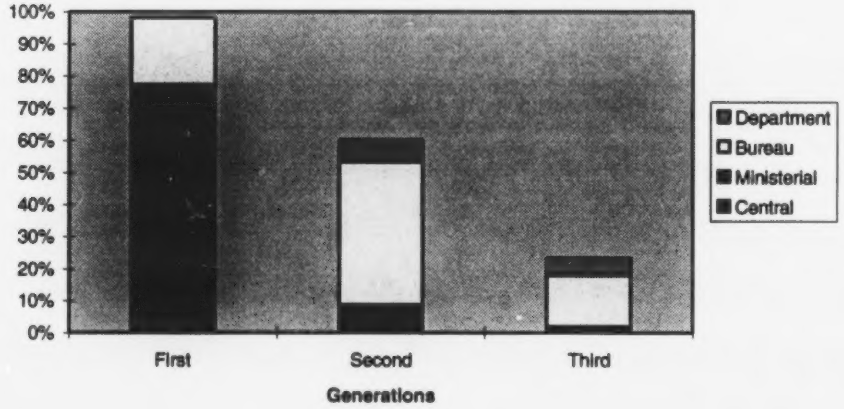
[3] By central level I mean the Party central committee, Party politburo, National People's Congress (parliament) chairman or vice-chairmen, premier or vice premiers

Figure 5

Three Generations:
Percentages of Holding Party or Government Posts



Summary: The above three sets of comparison on age, experience, and Party or government posts revealed that the first generation's career in news media work was irregular, especially compared to the following two generations. About 54 percent of them were under 30 when they became the editor of a major Party news media outlet, and most of them did not have much experience before assuming the editorship. (This matched the situation of the early stage of the Party, weak but eager to expand its influence). Furthermore, the fact that almost all the first generation editors ended up as high ranking Party officials or even top Party leaders suggested that to them experience in news media was no more than a step towards their goals in politics. They launched and/or worked in Party news media at very young age, to propagate their revolutionary ideas.

Table 4 illustrates that six successive Party chiefs from 1921 to 1935 were all editors under the category of the first generation.

Table 4 Editor-Turned Party Chiefs (1921-1935)

Names	Life span	Highest Party Posts Held	Journal, Editorship Year
Chen Duxiu	1879-1942	Party General Secretary (1921-1927)	*New Youth* editor, 1915
Qu Qiubai	1899-1935	Party de facto chief, 1927	*Vanguard*, 1923
Zhou Enlai	1898-1976	Party de facto chief (1928-	*Shaonian*, 1922
Qin Bangian	1907-1946	Party de facto chief (1931-35)	*Chinese Workers*, 1930
Mao Zedong	1893-1976	Party Military Com. Chairman (1935-)	*Xiangjiang Review*, 1919
Zhang Wentian	1900-1976	Party General Secretary (1935-	*Shaonian Shijie*, 1919

Sources: Compiled from *Jianmin Zhongguo Baike Quanshu* (Concise Chinese Encyclopedia), *Cihai* (Encyclopedia), and *84' China Journalism Yearbook*.

For this reason, the first generation editors can be labeled as Communist revolutionaries. (The term here is neutral).

2. The second generation editors were somewhat different. Prior to being an editor of a major Party news organization, they had already worked many years in relatively regular news media. Their career was mostly that of working in a news outlet, though they sometimes also assumed other Party posts. In this sense, the term "revolutionary journalists" is appropriate to describe them.

To be more specific, the second generation has several types.

a. Those whose editorship career was mingled with Party official career, like Zhu Muzhi, once the head of the Xinhua News Agency. Born in 1916, Zhu graduated in 1938 with a college degree. That year, he became involved in news media work in Nanjing. In 1938, he joined the Communist Party. In 1947, he resume his journalists career as a special correspondent of Xinhua News Agency, and next year, a head of the Xinhua Taihang Branch. In 1949, at the age of 33, he became a deputy editor of Xinhua. The following years saw him as a deputy head of the news agency. In 1972, he became the head, at the age of 56. Four years later, he was transferred to the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee as a deputy director. [25]

b. Those who worked all their lives until retirement, like Feng Xiliang, a graduate of the University of Missouri-Columbia and a former editor of *China Daily*. Born in 1920, Feng started his journalism career in 1948. In the 1950s, he successively assumed the positions in a variety of publications in Beijing, such as *Reference News*, *People's China*, and *Beijing Review*, of which he became a deputy editor in the 1970s. In 1981, he became a managing editor of *China Daily* and in 1984, he was the editor. Feng retired in 1987, and is now a member of the national committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, a honorable position. [26]

3. The third generation were trained as journalists and worked as a journalists. Most of them had no other posts in the government or the Party, and many of them are likely to end up as journalists. They are mostly professional journalists, therefore. Take for instance Guo Chaoren, deputy head of the Xinhua News Agency. Born in 1934, Guo graduated from Peking University in 1956, with a degree in journalism. He was then

assigned to work in Xinhua. His experience included some 10 years stay in the Xinhua Tibet branch, and a few more years in the Shaanxi branch and Sichuan branch as a reporter. After that he was promoted to be a reporter group leader and later a branch leader. In 1982, he was transferred back to the headquarters of the news agency to be a secretary general. In 1983, he became a deputy head of the news agency at 49. [27]

The evolution of the Party press editorship is related to the expansion of the Party press. The former appears to be the logical result of the latter. The Party press was started by a group of radical intellectuals, who launched the press to propagate their ideas. When the Party expanded in force, especially when the Party established its political power in parts of the country, it needed to recruit people to fill up news media positions. The recruits stayed longer than their predecessors. After the founding of the People's Republic, the Party press was upgraded. It needs more and more professionally trained people to be journalists. As far as their experience is concerned, the first and the third generations are in different categories.

This difference, reflected in Party journalism doctrines, is that the first generation editors are creators of such theory whereas the following generations, especially the third, are the performers of such doctrines. The question then is: What consequences might the difference between the three generation have produced? Or rather, will the following generations carry forward the doctrines of Party journalism created by the first generation?

III

Theories of professionalization and professional group behavior define profession as a model for groups (like doctors, lawyers, accountants, social workers, and other self-defined or publicly recognized "professions") who control unique bodies of knowledge not shared by the rest of society. The possession and use of this knowledge is regulated by the groups' internal structures as well as regulations reinforced by the broader society. [28] A profession includes such characteristics as "(a) the existence of a specialized body of knowledge, accessible only by lengthy training; (b) the existence of ethical standards which include a commitment to public service; and (c) a measure of autonomy from outside interference in the practice of the profession."[29] Despite the controversial debate over the nature of journalism, [30] the predominant view is that journalism constitute a profession. Journalists, like other professionals, have their own "occupational ideals." [31]

Here, the professional commitment, or occupational ideals, may subject to various interpretations, but this author prefers what Herbert Gans mentioned in his *Deciding What's News*: *the value exclusion and the value inclusion*. By value exclusion, Gans means "to be free from values and ideology" as "journalism resembles other empirical disciplines and professions in its aim to be objective. (Editorials, commentary, and at the magazines, the endings of some stories are exempted from value exclusion). The primary task in story selection is ...to tell the readers this is what we think is important ..." [32] By value inclusion, Gans means such things as "taking stands" by expressing conscious opinions as well as unconscious opinions based on what he termed as enduring values. [33] Using different languages, Schudson also expressed similar ideas by describing (journalist) professionalism as an ideological commitment to objectivity and truth. [34]

China's Party journalism, in its nature, is incompatible to such a commitment. The essence of the Party journalism, whose elaboration requires a lengthy discussion, may be boiled down into two points. First, the media are the tool for a political Party. Second, they must subject themselves to the leadership of the Party. Therefore journalists must speak for the Party and take the Party's stand. Mao (1893-1976), whom the *Yearbook* described as "one of the creators of the Chinese Communist Party ... and the founding father of China's proletarian journalism,"[35] once wrote for the *Political Weekly* when it was launched in 1925. When stating the purpose of the publication, he put it blankly that it was "for the revolution." [36] An article studying Mao's Party journalism ideas noted that Mao repeatedly stressed that the Party's news media must adhere to the Party character by putting themselves to Party leadership unconditionally. [37] In a talk with journalists in 1957, Mao noted that before social classes are eliminated, news, whether from a news agency or by a newspaper, carries the character of class. " 'Freedom of the press' as advocated by the bourgeois, is a sheer lie. There is no such thing as totally objective ..." [38] Mao of course is not the only first generation editor, yet because of his unchangeable position in the Chinese Communist Party since 1935, his Party journalism ideas were predominant. Some other first generation editors like Liu Shaoqi (1896 -1969), who later became Party vice-chairman and State president, might not be as demanding as Mao in treating journalists, but on the key issues they were no different from Mao. In Liu's talk with North China press delegation in 1948, which was regarded as a major expression of his journalism ideas, he noted clearly that the Party news media are something with which the Party can organize and united the masses of the people, and their major task is to "propagate the Party policies." [39]

The first generation editors as communist revolutionaries did not create Party journalism accidentally. Chinese Communist revolutionaries were the products of a special historical period when China was in an unprecedented crisis. Driven by the aim to find a way out for the country, the Party advocated violence, class struggle, and dictatorship to transform whole society. To achieve this goal, everything else, including a person's life, must be subordinate. As Mao put it, " A communist should have largeness of mind ... looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution ..."[40] These determine the Party's intolerance of a free, independent, and objective press.

Also, the Party leaders' experience as first generation editors, characterized by irregularity, contributed to their extreme ideas in Party journalism even in technical matters. One such example occurred in 1931, when Mao as the leader of the Red Army wrote an instruction on increasing propaganda by spreading *Shishi Jianbao* (Current Affairs Bulletin) among soldiers and residents in Red Army controlled areas. [41] In Mao's view, such bulletins should be handwritten with paintbrushes so that they could be posted on the walls for reading aloud. Thus, illiterates, which were common at that time, could also understand. This might be a good idea, but in the meanwhile, Mao criticized editors like those of *Hongjun Bao* (Red Army Gazette). Mao said, these papers were (machine) printed, yet soldiers and local residents did not understand. Mao ordered that the new *Shishi Jianbao* must not be machine-printed. [42]

The second generation, as can be seen from the above analysis, had its revolutionary side. Their joining the Party media in the war time before the Party came to power was also for the Communist revolution. Yet, unlike their predecessors, their careers were based in the news media, and therefore they were more profession conscious as a whole. After the founding of the People's Republic, working in a news organization, even if it is a Party press unit, is more of a profession. The sense of professionalism increased on the part of the third generation.

Because of this difference, the conflicts between Party news media editors and the Party long ago started and developed with the passage of time. Communist Party leaders' works provide many evidences of such conflicts, chiefly centered on the two major commitment of journalism.

Deciding What's News:

In 1942, when China was at war with Japan and when the Nationalist government retreated to the remote Northwestern area, the Communist Party had been able to establish its political power in many separate areas. Consequently, it expanded its new media network. The Xinhua News Agency had set up branches in many areas. That year, Mao wrote an instruction from Yanan, the seat of the Party's headquarters. In that instruction, entitled "The (Press) propaganda must subject itself to the Party's current policies," [43] Mao noted, "some cases have occurred recently in which propaganda work at local levels ran counter to the Party policy." Mao urged that local Party committees to "strengthen their leadership over the news agency branches and the newspapers. " "We must overcome the erroneous tendency of our propaganda workers going their own way," he said. What is "going their own way," then? On this, Mao cited some examples. Among them, "the (Xinhua)Taihang branch reported the (local) government advisory committee's appeal for convening a (national) conference on State affairs;" "the Shandong branch reported an open telegraph of the 111 Division of the Northeast Army Corp to oppose the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party); the Subei branch dispatched a new item of views that opposed the Nationalist Party ..." All these were news stories of news values at that time, yet these stories "run counter to the (then) ... policy of the party" to form a united front with the Nationalist government. Therefore, the editors of the news branches to air such stories were accused of "going their own ways."

This case, in which "revolutionary journalist" editors tried to distribute news of news value and therefore ran into conflict with the Party goals and Party propaganda purpose **even at the time of revolution,** was just one of numerous occurrences of conflicts between the Party and Party media over the journalistic commitment to reporting things of news value. The *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism*, which contains Mao's instructions on news media work, suggests the extent of Party interference in news media's daily work. Mao as the Party leader, for instance, sometimes was concerned with a single news item, leaving no room for editors to decide on their own what to air or report. In May 1946, when US Presidential envoy Marshall was in China to intervene between the Communist Party and the Nationalist government, Mao wrote to Yu Guangshen, the head of the Xinhua News Agency and concurrently the editor of the Party organ *Liberation Daily*, saying, " Since May 23, no report on military conflicts [between the Communist Party army and the nationalist government army] [**Footnote** [4]] should be broadcast. Only the newspapers can carry some ..."[44] More than one month later, Mao issued a new instruction: "From now on, whatever news regarding the military attack to us by Chiang Kai-shek army should be reported and broadcast...."[45]

On the other hand, Mao's repeated criticism of the news media in the war time suggested that the second generation editors long ago had a tendency of not following the Party closely in deciding what to report.

In the same year as Mao criticized Xinhua News Agency local branches for "going their own ways," for instance, the Party Central Committee, under Mao's instruction, decided to change the policy of coverage by the Party organ *Liberation Daily*. The reason was that the newspaper was seen to have carried too many news items from news agencies. The Central Committee Party Propaganda Department said in a circular, " A newspaper that devotes all or almost all of its space to news from foreign and domestic news agencies does not have a strong sense of Party character. It is only a volunteer distributor for the others' news agencies." [46] The Party document said, "The major task of the newspaper is to propagate and carry out the Party policies, and to reflect the Party work and the people's life. Only in this way can a newspaper be a true Party paper." The document then warned, "Any local Party newspaper that made similar mistakes must change immediately." [47]

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[4] At that time the CPC and the Nationalist government were accusing each other of preparing for civil war and provoking military conflicts.

In 1944, Mao criticized the *Kangzhan Ribao* (Anti-Japanese Aggression Daily) in a Communist-ruled area for carrying too much international news and national news and thus divorcing from the people. [48] In 1945, Mao again accused the Party organ *Liberation Daily*, this time of "being affected by the bourgeois outlook," when the newspaper gave prominent space to the use of atomic bombs in Japan. Mao said this exaggerated the role of atomic bombs in forcing Japan to surrender.[49] Then in 1948, Mao said "many newspapers and news agency branches" were making mistakes as they "indiscriminately printed or aired many unsuitable features and articles .... " [50] The same year saw Mao writing on another occasion that as a result of loosen control over the newspaper and news agency by leading Party bodies, "many erroneous views are widely reported." Mao then urged regional Party leaders to check the newspapers in their areas before they went out for printing. [51]

The Party's interference of editors' work in deciding what's news continued, and intensified in the period of the People's Republic, characterized by one after another political movements.

Even in the 1980s, when political climate in the country was relatively easy, Party leaders would instruct the news media not to report or print this or that. Here are just a few examples from top Party leaders' works. In 1980, Deng Xiaoping, the de facto Party chief, said, "Newspapers, broadcasting and television should work to promote stability and unity and enhance the socialist consciousness of the youth and take this as a constant and basic task." [52] In 1981, Hu Yaobang, Party chairman at the time, wrote an instruction, which said that the news media should not be afraid of being considered boring when they covered "good people and good things" to reflect the "socialist spiritual civilization." Hu said, the Party "must mobilize all its broadcasting and printed media to cover ... good people and good deeds."[53] Next year, Hu as the Party General Secretary set some taboos on the news media in their coverage. He said, "In news reporting, first of all, items that worship foreign stuff should not be published. ... Our press must adopt a serious attitude towards the capitalist world. ... The so-called objective reports should not be allowed. [54] Another Party leader, Chen Yun, then the Chairman of Advisory Committee of the Party Central Committee, even told the Party Propaganda Department to stop news publications from using "too many pictures of women " in advertisement. [55]

Under such circumstances, the resentment of the Party new media leaders against the Party over deciding what's news was inevitable. In mid-1980s, when the third generation began to take over the leadership, participants to a conference of editors-in-chief of provincial Party press, complained, among other things, that they did not have a final say in deciding what to and what not to print. [56] According to *China Daily*, which covered the conference, the main problem the editors felt unhappy about "was that Party leaders ignorant of the newspaper business exercised too much control over the Party press, putting the editors in an embarrassing situation." [57]

Explaining why news media editors complained, Gang Xifen, a professor of journalism at the Chinese People's University, said that was because of the unified leadership of the party over the press, which meant the news media could only "report the things [the Party] wants the audience to know." [58]

Taking Stands ....

Taking stands, which Gans interpreted as expressing unconscious or conscious opinions based on enduring values is also an area where professional journalistic commitment conflicts with Party journalism doctrines.

While enduring values may take different forms in different cultures, professionals-turned editors in China caught the most important point in expressing China's "enduring values." That is, the news media should side with the vast majority of the people and base on this determine their standards for what is wrong and right. These arguments found explicit expression in the theory of the "people's character" of the Party news media, initiated in 1979 by Hu Jiwei, then the *People's Daily* editor. Contending that the Communist Party had committed serious mistakes in the past, Hu said the Party news media should have "the people's character" rather than merely "Party character," so as to avoid further mistakes in the future. [59] By having the people's character, Hu later explained more clearly in another article, a Party news organization should "completely side with the people, and act completely out of the interests of the people." [60] In other words, the Party news media should not follow the Party but use the standards of the people to oppose the Party's mistakes in case the later makes mistakes. This theory has produced a great impact in the Chinese journalistic circles. An article that attacked Hu in 1990 admitted that "it [the people's character theory] has always been the focus of debate in the journalistic circles."[61]

In reality, long before this theory was raised, Party press editors had begun to take their stand to criticize the Party for the mistakes it made. One case for this was what the *People's Daily* editor did in 1959 to mock the Great Leap Forward Movement in 1958 and 1959.

In 1958, China was in a crazy "Great Leap Forward" movement to boost its steel and grain production. In a mentality that people today can hardly comprehend, officials at various levels vied to lie in their reports to higher authorities on the achievements of the mass movement. Those who had the courage to exaggerate were promoted and praised, and those who tried to be realistic were criticized as being conservative or even dismissed. Mao, as the Party chairman and State president were the initiator of the drive, though he personally did not expect lying to such an event. In early 1959, the *People's Daily* reported that one people's commune in Zhangxian County, Hunan Province had an output of 70,000 jin of rice on one mu of land [62] (equal to 212,450 kilograms for one acre). Later this output was exceeded by another commune in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, where the per acre output reached 394,550 kilograms [63]. By today's standards, this was a 100 times exaggeration.

One explanation of the crazy report by the *People's Daily* was that the editors, being unhappy about the exaggeration of the Great Leap Forward, tried to put the absurd to the extreme to make a mock of the movement. Mao was very angry with the *People's Daily*, accusing the editors of "opposing the red banner under the red banner."[64]

Another piece of evidence is seen in the case of insinuating of Mao by three Beijing Party publications in the early 1960s for his initiation of the Great Leap Forward Movement. The Great Leap Forward movement, coupled by the People's Commune movement, led to a nationwide famine. Twenty million people died of hunger, as a result. [65] To shift the responsibility, Mao and his followers tried to attribute the famine to natural disasters, Soviet Union's demand for payment of debt and mistakes in specific work. [66] Party news media editors, of course, were clear about what really caused the disasters. Yet under the then political climate, open challenge to Mao was out of the question. So, between October 1961 and July 1964, Deng Tuo, the editor of Beijing Municipal Party Committee's journal *Frontline*, Wu Han, a historian, and professor at Beijing University and Liao Mosha, a journalist-turned Party official, started special columns of essays in Beijing's major newspapers, and produced more than 200 articles over three years. [67] The over 200 articles "concentrated their satire on the tendency to rely on exaggeration and bluster rather than on the masses, and the tendency to disregard objective laws."[68] One of their satires cautioned readers against "great, high-sounding empty talk," and under that heading lampooned the saying that "the East wind is our benefactor, and the West wind is our enemy," in mock of Mao's famous statement "the East wind prevails over the West wind."[69] In an article on the meaning of wisdom, Deng Tuo ridiculed those who do not listen to the masses, saying that wisdom is not mysterious and not the exclusive property of certain geniuses, but is something that belongs to the broad masses. He drew on ancient stories of an emperor who was advised to listen to other people. [70]

The editors of the three publications who, by allowing the column articles to appear, expressed their own opinions in coverage, paid dearly later. After the Communist Party under Mao dissolved the editorial boards of the three publications and put them under "military control" in 1966, some committed suicide, or died of persecution. [71]

For the most part of the period of the People's Republic, of course, not many editors had the same courage in taking their stand. The Party has all kinds of means to control the media it created. Nevertheless, the root cause of the conflict exist. When the general political climate changed, as in the 1980s, the departure of the Party press from the Party line was something inevitable. Here, what the editors of the *People's Daily* did on the day of Tiananmen massacre provided a typical case for study.

A Case Study

On the night of June 3, 1989, fully armed troops opened fire indiscriminately at anyone who tried to block their way from Beijing's outskirts to the downtown Tiananmen Square, where student demonstrators camped. How would the Party organ reported the event? This was the question facing the deputy editor Lu Choaqi, who was on duty that night and was in fact the leader of the paper. (The newspaper's publisher Qian Liren and editor Tan Wenrui had asked for a sick leave earlier).

An eyewitness memoir published in 1993 by a former *People's Daily* reporter in the *World Journal* (a Chinese-language newspaper in the United States) revealed two things. First, the on-duty editor insisted that the newspaper should cover what happened in the Tiananmen Square, despite the instruction from the Party Central Committee Propaganda Department not to report on it. Second, he and two other deputy editors, whom the memoir described as "younger," approved the implicit expression of protest against the massacre. [72]

So, the June 4 issue of the *People's Daily* reported what happened in the previous night: "The martial law troops, by the deadline time of the paper, had broken into the Tiananmen Square." The on-duty editor himself wrote a sentence into the story, "According to the *Liberation Army Daily* editorial, **[Footnote [5]]** a counter-revolutionary riot took pace in Beijing. " This implied the stand of the *People's Daily* not agreeing with the Party 's accusation of student movement being a "counter-revolutionary" riot. On its international news page, the *People's Daily* purposely selected some items and put them under very suggestive headlines: "Students in Seoul on hunger strike protest against the authorities' massacre [20 years ago]," and "Israeli troops use aircraft and tanks against civilians in southern Lebanon."

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[5] The memoir's writer said that one of his acquaintances in the *Liberation Army Daily* disclosed the editorial had been pre-prepared by the authorities a few days earlier.

The eyewitness memoir supported the point the author of this paper argued for: the Party's chain control over the news media was breaking at the link of the editor. (It also illustrated the importance of studying the editors in understanding the changes of the Chinese press.) Without the courage of the editor, the June 4th *People's Daily* would have been different.

Conclusion

The departure of Party news media editors from the Party line in the 1980s was not accidental. The changed political situation in that decade gave the editors the courage, but why they chose to do so is another question. The author of the paper considers that the question would be better explained in the light of the evolution of the ranks of three generations of editors. What happened in 1989 was a continuation of the long-term conflicts between the editors' professional journalistic commitment and the Party's Party journalism doctrines.

That year, some American scholars conducted a Q-survey in Beijing to examine the opinions of 38 Chinese journalists and advanced journalism students in Beijing on a variety of global communication issues.[73] One of the factors emerged from the study was "liberals," who favored democratization and independent journalism.[74] From this study

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we may infer that the fourth or fifth generation of news media editors would go even further in ascertaining independence from the Party in the near future.

As if to provide a footnote, the *90' China Journalism Yearbook* carried a picture which showed that in late 1989, in accordance with the Party's re-emphasis on ideological education, journalists under 40 years old in *Heilongjiang Daily* of Heilongjiang Province, some 150 of them, were beginning to be sent to the provincial Party school in five successive groups, to study Marxist philosophical principles. This example indicated the worry of the Party over the even younger generations of journalists, or editors.

Some 30 years ago, Mao as the leader of the Chinese Communist Party warned the nation of the danger of “peaceful evolution.” “Basing themselves on the changes in the Soviet Union,” he said, “the imperialist prophets are pinning their hopes of ‘peaceful evolution’ on the third or fourth generation of the Chinese Party. We must shatter these imperialist prophecies.” [75]

Yet, viewed historically, the trend of peaceful evolution is inevitable.

Notes

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[1] Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Reporter, 1800-1900: Working Conditions and Their Influence on the News Reporters," *Journalism Quarterly* (Spring, 1980).

[2] Mark Hopkins, "Control by Example: How China Manages the Press," *New Leader* (May 1, 1989) 72: 3.

[3] Jiang Zemin, "On a Few Issues of Party Journalism," *China Journalism Yearbook '90* (Beijing: Chinese Academy of Social Sciences Press, 1991), 5.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Mark Hopkins, op. cit.

[6] China-Chuan Lee (ed), *Voices of China: The Interplay of Politics and Journalism* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1990), 40.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Won Ho Chang, *Mass Media in China: The History and the Future* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989), 269.

[10] Elsewhere, the book says, "while carrying out Zhou Enlai's ideas of practical journalism and Deng Xiaoping's modernization program in the People's republic, the journalistic of China are participating in a two-front revolution -- the development of a world press system and the modernization of one of the word's most ancient countries." Ibid., p.270.

[11] "Better Read than Dead," *Economist* (July 31, 1993), 33.

[12] Deanna Campbell Robinso, "Changing Functions of Mass Media in the People's Republic of China," *Journal of Communication* (Fall 1981), 58-73.

[13] Kenneth Starck & Yu Xu, "Loud Thunder, Small Raindrops: The Reform Movement and the Press in China," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (71st, Portland, OR, July 2-5, 1988).

[14] Charles M. Koo, "Social Change and Mass Media: Towards a Cybernetic Communication Model for National Development in China," paper presented at the Conference on Culture and Communication (Philadelphia, PA, April 9-11, 1981).

[15] Charles M. Koo, "Mass Media Decision in China's Post-Mao Zedong Modernization Program: Some Unanticipated Consequences," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association (31st, Minneapolis, MN, May 21-25, 1981).

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[16] James A. Schnell, "Bourgeois Liberalization: The Labeling of Unwanted American Influences by the People's Republic of China," research report, available as Eric Microfiches: ED293764 SO019007.

[17] Li Mei, "The Facade in the People's Daily during the Cultural Revolution." *Tanshuo Zhazhi* , a Hongkong-based magazine in Chinese, (January, 1993), 83.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Quoted from a Xinhua story. See "Beijing Municipal Party Committee Exonerates Victimized Leaders," The Xinhua General News Service, August 3, 1979.

[21] *China Journalism Yearbook*, started in 1982, is chiefly the product of the Journalism Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, though its editorial board includes almost all the editors of the major national news media outlets in Beijing. Despite the "political languages" used, it is objective in that it tries to chronicle the developments of the Chinese news media as they are. Its value lies in its collection of otherwise hardly unavailable historical documents and data concerning the news media throughout the country.

Ever since its publication, Chinese as well as international scholars have been using the data it collects for research purposes. "Journalism Studies in China, 1903-1985," a paper by Lau Tuen-yu presented at the Annual Meeting of the AEJMC (72nd, Washington, DC, August 10-13, 1989) made full use of the *Yearbook* by analyzing 1,245 titles of journalism books from 1903 to 1985 compiled in the *China Journalism Yearbook* from 1982 to 1986 and the *China Television Broadcasting Yearbook 1986.* US-published books that made reference to *China Journalism Yearbook* include *Voices of China, The Interplay of Politics and Journalism*, edited by Chin-Chuan Lee and forwarded by John K. Fairbank; and *Mass Media in China, The History and the Future*, by Won Ho Chang.

[22] See *83' China Journalism Yearbook*, 565.

[23] Dennis E. Hinkle, William Viersma, and Stepen G. Jurs, *Basic Behavioral Statistics*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), 157.

[24] Robin W. Winks (ed), *The Historian As Detective: Essays on Evidence* (New York: Happer Torchbooks, 1968), xiii.

[25] Excerpts from Zhu Muzhi's biography. See *'86 China Journalism Yearbook*, 362.

[26] Excerpts from Feng Xiliang's biography. See *'86 China Journalism Yearbook*, 367.

[27] Excerpts from Guo Chaoren's biography. See *'86 China Journalism Yearbook*, 376.

[28] Talcott Parsons, "Professions, International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, XII "(New York: Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968), 536-45.

[29] Quoted by Hansfried Kellner and Frank W. Heuberger, *Hidden Technocrats, The New Class and New Capitalism* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1982), 42.

[30] In his monograph "Journalism Professionalism as an Organizational-Level Concept," Randal A. Beam noted that "mass media scholars, applying sociological models of professionals, have debated whether journalism is actually a profession. See p.1.

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[31] Michael Schudson, *Discovering The News, A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), 77.

[32] Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News, A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time* (Vintage Books, New York, 1980), 183.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1967). Quoted by Randal A. Ream, Journalism Professionalism as an Organizational-Level Concept, *Journalism Monographs* (June 1990), 1.

[35] *'84 China Journalism Yearbook*, p.669.

[36] Mao Zedong, "Reasons for Launching the *Political Weekly*," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism* (in Chinese), (Beijing: Xinhua Press, 1983), 5.

[37] See Hai Ling & Chen Yi, " Mao Zedong's Journalism Theory and Practice: Part of the Mao Zedong Thought," *Xinwen Yewu*, a journal in Chinese published in Beijing, (No.12, 1983).

[38] Mao Zedong, "Talk with the Representatives from the Journalistic Circles," quoted by *'84 China Journalism Yearbook*. See p.88.

[39] Liu Shaoqi, "A Talk to the North China Press Corps," *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1981) Vol.1: 392.

[40] Mao Zedong, "Combat Liberalism," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1967), Vol.2: 33.

[41] Mao Zedong, " Popularize *Shishi Jianbao*," op. cit. pp.26-33.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Mao Zedong, "Increase the Party Character of the Press" *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism* [in Chinese], (Beijing: Xinhua Press, 1983), 96-98.

[44] Mao Zedong, "Publicity Must Be Adapted to Changed Situation," op, cit., p.133.

[45] Ibid., pp.133-134.

[46] "A Circular from the Chinese Communist Party Propaganda Department on Transforming Party Newspapers," March 16, 1942. Quoted in a note to *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Journalism* [in Chinese], 91.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Mao, "How to Run Local Newspapers," op. cit., 120.

[49] Mao, "Removing the Bourgeois Influence in News Report," op. cit., 129.

[50] Mao, "Correcting the `leftist' mistakes in Land Reform Propaganda Work," op. cit. , 141.

[51] Mao, "Party Press Must Unconditionally Publicize the Party's Guidelines and Policies," op. cit. , 155.

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[52] Deng Xiaoping, "On Current situations and Tasks" (January 16, 1980), *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)* [in Chinese] (Beijing: People's Publishing House), 219.

[53] Hu Yaobang, "Going All Out to Propagate Spiritual Civilization (1981)," reprinted in *'84 China Journalism Yearbook*, 8-9.

[54] Hu Yaobang, " On Issues of Ideological and Political Work (1982)," quoted in *'84 China Journalism Yearbook*, 10.

[55] Chen Yun, "Too Many Beauties in Advertisement," *'84 China Journalism Yearbook*, 9.

[56] "Press Editors `Must Have the Final Say," *China Daily* (August 21, 1986), 1. [No byline for this news item].

[57] Ibid.

[58] "The People's Judgment Is the Fair Judgment," *World Economic Herald* (March 28, 1988), 15. [No byline for this news item].

[59] Quoted in Lin Feng, "On Hu Jiwei's View of the Party Press' Party Character and People Character" *Xinwen Zhanxian* (Journalism Front, a Chinese-language journal published in Beijing), (No.4, 1990).

[60] Ibid.

[61] Lin Feng, op cit.

[62] This was quoted by Jing Fuzi, *Mao Zedong and His Women* (Taipei: Lianjing Publication Company, 1991), 214-5.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Quoted from Ding Shu, *Renhuo* (Artificial Disasters) (Hong Kong: The Nineties Monthly/Going Find Ltd), 115.

[66] This was a common explanation at that time in Party documents and newspaper articles on the issue. The author of this paper quoted Jing Fuzi, *Mao Zedong and His Women* (Taipei: Lianjing Publication Company, 1991), 214-5.

[67] The Xinhua General Overseas News Service, "Gang of Four's Persecution of Writers in `Three-Family Village' Frame-Up Exposed" (February 22, 1979). Item No: 022208.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Xinhua, "Beijing Municipal Party Committee Exonerates Victimized Leaders" (August 3, 1979).

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[72] Zi Ye, "The People's Daily: a 38-Hour Struggle," *World Weekly* (Sunday edition of the Chinese-language newspaper *World Journal*published in the United States), May 28-June 3, 1993.

[73] Analysis used William Stephenson's Q-methodology, an analytic technique that correlates and factors responses of individuals for the purpose of identifying patterns of opinion about a specified universe.

[74] Starck, Kenneth; Xu, Yu, "A Q-Study of Global Communication Issues as Perceived by Chinese Journalists," 10 Aug, 1989, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (72nd, Washington, DC, August 10-13, 1989).

[75] Quoted by *People's Daily* in its commentary "On Khrushchev's Phony Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," July 14, 1964.

"Hybrid Journalism Epitomized: Riding the Frontier/Commercial Cusp, 1893-1894"

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"Hybrid Journalism Epitomized: Riding the Frontier/Commercial Cusp, 1893-1894"

ABSTRACT

This study delineates the evolutionary state of journalism on North Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining district frontier in 1893 and 1894 -- after a violent 1892 labor union/mine owner war and subsequent martial law -- as ten newspapers dealt with a national economic depression and renewed labor/management tensions. By 1893-1894, editors had generally reduced the intensity of their partisan social class advocacy journalism and drew closer to the burgeoning market-based "new journalism" of the coasts.

Editors began, for example, to relegate news commentary to the editorial page and remove it from their news stories, replacing interpretive accounts with a more issue-balanced reportage that did not necessarily reflect their own perceptions, a primary characteristic of metropolitan market-based journalism. Yet Coeur d'Alene newspapers remained in many ways passionate frontier-style journals that maintained the right to promote narrow political agendas while simultaneously aiming to attract advertisers through broader social appeal.

The 1893-1894 newspapers thus represented the epitome of hybrid journalism -- a unique transitional style that bridged the earlier frontier press and the contemporary commercial newspaper. The study thus provides 1) a key to understanding the complex evolution of western journalism from pioneering sheets to our modern press and 2) a conceptual framework to ascertain if similar developments existed on other early industrial frontiers.

"Hybrid Journalism Epitomized: Riding the Frontier/Commercial Cusp, 1893-1894"

He knew it as inevitable, but publisher H. W. Ross thought his Wallace (Idaho) Coeur d'Alene American would last longer than four months. Yes the national economy had dropped since he took control of the American from R. E. Brown in late November 1892, and yes silver and lead prices were at their lowest in years, but surely his profits and strong patronage could keep the newspaper alive. They could not. The inevitable became the present and, for reasons Ross would not admit, he closed the American in late March 1893.

His patronage, however, remained and two days after closing Ross answered his supporters by printing the first Daily Press, a politically "independent" four-page newspaper filled with advertising, local news updates, and boilerplate entertainment items. Though Ross kept the Daily Press alive for less than a month, it became the portent of an increasingly -- but not quite -- market-oriented journalism in North Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining district of the 1890s (see Map 1).

This study delineates the evolutionary state of Coeur d'Alene journalism in 1893 and 1894 -- after a violent 1892 labor union/mine owner war and subsequent martial law -- as ten newspapers dealt with a national economic depression and renewed labor/management tensions. It continues the focus begun in previous research on the Coeur d'Alene editors' subtle shift from active to more passive community roles.[1] For, by 1893-1894, editors had generally reduced the intensity of their partisan, social class advocacy journalism. They began, for example, to relegate news commentary to the editorial page and remove it from their news stories, replacing interpretive accounts with a more issue-balanced reportage that did not necessarily reflect their own perceptions, a primary characteristic of metropolitan market-based journalism.[2] The reasons for this journalistic shift, which reduced an editor's political independence by forcing pragmatic business decisions, resided in the same wage workers' frontier catalysts that had transformed Coeur d'Alene society during the late 1880s and removed the pioneer settlers' individualism -- rapid influx and change through capital development, corporate structure, mining technology, transportation/communcation facilities, politics, and organized labor.

Yet Coeur d'Alene newspapers remained in many ways passionate frontier-style journals that maintained the right to promote narrow political agendas while simultaneously aiming to attract advertisers through broader social appeal. The 1893-1894 newspapers thus represented the epitome of hybrid journalism on the Coeur d'Alene mining frontier -- a unique transitional style that bridged the earlier frontier press era and the burgeoning market-oriented newspaper and provided a key to understanding the complex evolution of western American journalism from pioneering sheets to our modern press.

Preface: Wage Workers' Frontier, Social Class Advocacy, and War

Original North Idaho fortune-hunters of the mid-1880s found and worked their own gold claims -- what they dug, they kept. With the mines came settlements. Camps like Eagle City, Raven, Delta, Burke, Gem, Wardner, Milo (Kellogg), and Mullan grew up nearly on top of these claims. But silver soon displaced gold and, unlike the early surface placer claims, underground silver lode mining became complex and expensive. By 1889 things had changed. An elite group of mine

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owners -- few of whom lived in the Coeur d'Alene region, most of whom answered to eastern or west coast investors -- controlled the forty developed mines. When fortune-hunters continued to arrive in the late 1880s, the riches were already divided. Personal fortune rested on management whim. The lucky miners became wage-earners -- and dug silver for someone else.[3]

Though reflecting national corporate trends, two major differences distinguished the Coeur d'Alenes: 1) North Idaho miners resented losing their individualistic frontier heritage, a resentment that strained their relationship with employers whose concentrated corporate power dictated labor and social conditions; 2) Geographic isolation kept miners from alternate sources of work, an employment monopoly that increased the owners' power over the district. With capital, transportation, labor, and technology nearly in place, and with its miners set to rebel against their fallen status, the Coeur d'Alenes emerged by 1889 as a new type of frontier, a "wage workers' frontier" -- that moment of rapid transformation from a socially-based, self-sufficient pioneer prospecting society into an economically-based, wage-dependent, production community.[4]

This sudden economic restructuring produced two new institutions that predated political parties and commerce in the struggle to organize Coeur d'Alene society and economics -- organized labor and corporate mining companies. From 1889 to 1892, the Miners' Union engaged the Mine Owners' Association (a unique capitalist union) in an ideological battle to control the Coeur d'Alene mining district. The battle climaxed in open warfare on July 11, 1892.

The Mine Owners' Association believed three obstacles existed to profitable mining: low metal prices, high freight rates, and high labor wages. The factor most susceptible to control was the cost of labor. When the Northern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads agreed to MOA rates on March 5, 1892, the mine owners announced they would reopen on April first, with one stipulation -- miners would receive $3.50 per 10 hour day, but carmen and shovelers would only earn $3. Their worst fears realized, the Miners' Union refused to accept the reduction. In response, the MOA resolved never to hire another union miner. When the mines opened, union men were locked out.[5]

To push their point, the owners secured an injunction from a district court judge they themselves had put in power. The injunction prohibited union interference with mining operations. It also denied union members their constitutionally protected rights of peaceful assembly, free speech, and trial by jury. Idaho Governor Norman B. Willey supported the MOA by threatening to declare martial law on June 4, 1892, if unionists obstructed mining operations. The owners then began importing non-union labor, including an illegal private army of Pinkerton agents to protect MOA workers and property. Pinkerton spies had also infiltrated the Miners' Union and on July ninth the union's trusted recording secretary exposed himself as such.[6]

For union miners and families subsisting on the charity of other western unions, the betrayal was the final indignity that ignited the miners to violence.[7] Months of crushing tension erupted on July 11, 1892, when company guards and unionists exchanged fire at the heavily fortified Frisco mill near Gem. Emboldened miners then ran a dynamite charge down the water sluice into the Frisco mill. The explosion blew the four-story building into splinters, killing a nonunion man and causing the other defenders to surrender. The union assault then turned to the Gem mine. In the intense -- and more accurate -- gunfire, three union men, a Pinkerton detective, and a nonunion miner dropped to the ground dead and a half dozen fell wounded. The spy fled into the hills. In a few moments of violence, union miners excised six months of depression, suppression, and frustration, and took control of Canyon Creek near Wallace, Idaho.

Flushed with victory, "and with a burning desire to settle accounts with the citadel of the mine owners' anti-union activity, namely the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company," 500 miners assembled twelve miles west of Wallace in Wardner demanding that all nonunion "scabs" be discharged.[8] To prevent destruction, the Bunker Hill manager agreed. The next day, most nonunion men fled the district.[9]

Though the Miners' Union controlled the Coeur d'Alenes, Republican government favored the mine owners, and "the entire machinery of the state power plus the military arm of the federal government were exerted in the owners' behalf."[10] On July thirteenth, Governor Willey made good his June fourth promise by declaring a state of insurrection in the Coeur d'Alenes.[11] Willey then sent six companies of the Idaho National Guard to Wallace and federal troops arrived soon after. By July fourteenth, a military force of 1,500 had returned the mines to their owners, outlawed the unions, and arrested 600 miners. It also had orders to "shoot...on the spot" any person endangering property. Martial law entrenched for four months. The mine owners had won.[12]

Although the same social, economic, and political concerns existed before and after the July 1892 climax, prior to the violence newspapers expressed ideological activism from a social class designation -- labor union versus capitalist union. These unions did not pursue the defining party activity of the electoral process.[13]

After July, however, newspapers did designate class ideology as political party affiliation -- Democrat/Populist versus Republican. In other words, only when mine owner-induced martial law eradicated the miners' unions in July 1892 did labor and capital use political parties to focus on election as the method to gain power in the district. At this point, those with class sympathies sought to create a social movement concept of a political party, "in which politics is expressive of an encompassing ideology...."[14] And these social movement parties used a partisan press to promote their class ideologies.[15] The end of martial law, however, precipitated a further evolution of Coeur d'Alene journalism.

Post-Martial Law Newspapers

When Governor Willey lifted martial law on November 19, 1892, the mines returned to full employment and the owners reported record production figures. But as the new year dawned, the country suffered a severe financial panic that escalated into a world-wide depression. The 1893 economic depression hit the western silver-producing states especially hard. As part of the international condition, for example, India demonetized silver and closed its mints on June 26, 1893. Within days, the price of silver, stable since 1891 at eighty-five cents per ounce, dropped to sixty-two cents.[16] Lead prices had dropped even

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earlier. In late 1892, the price fell to four cents a pound, after holding for two years between 4.5 and 4.25. By July 1893 lead dropped to three and a half cents per pound.[17] Many business and financial leaders in the U. S. blamed the 1890 Sherman Silver Purchase Act for the depressed conditions and pressured a panicked Congress into repealing the Act in October 1893. It did little to ease the situation.[18]

In January 1893, Van B. DeLashmutt, owner of the Sierra Nevada, Stemwinder, and Granite Mines, offered three ways to bolster the failing Coeur d'Alenes' economy. Mine owners needed to: 1) gain railroad freight concessions, 2) reduce wages, or 3) close the mines.[19] Even as other managers claimed there was "no desire on the part of any of the mine owners to reduce wages," a shock wave rolled through the Coeur d'Alene labor force.[20]

One week after these announcements, on January 21, 1893, Harley L. Hughes created the Mullan Panhandle News, a four-page, six-column newspaper dedicated to maintaining "that degree of influence, which every newspaper should have in the community in which it is published." The News "strove" to be a thorough newspaper, and not an organ" and aimed to make itself "a credit to Mullan," asking for the support of "her enterprising citizens" to do so. Hughes then declared the News was a Democratic newspaper, which gave it pro-labor leanings and indicated the editor's future.

Known as "the leading socialist in the Northwest," Hughes gave a boost to the beleaguered Mullan miners. Born in Oregon's Willamette valley and schooled at Colfax (WA) College, he began his newspaper career in St. John, Washington. He arrived in Mullan after founding the

Harrison, Idaho, *Ensign*, that Coeur d'Alene Lake-side town's first newspaper. Besides the *Panhandle News*, Hughes helped found the Burke/Gem *Silver Star* and the union-funded *Idaho State Tribune* in Wallace. From 1896 to 1900, Hughes published the Basin, Montana, *Progress* then became a Spokane *Review* reporter in 1901. He continued his labor activities the next two years as an organizer for the American Labor Union in Spokane then established a print shop in 1903 that eventually published the *Labor World*, with H. L. Hughes as manager and editor. He eventually ran for public office as a socialist, losing a Spokane mayoral battle in 1902, winning a seat in Idaho's third legislature in 1905-1906.[21]

The arrival of the pro-labor *Panhandle News* coincided with a shut-down of the western mining industry. As they had just one year ago, Coeur d'Alene mines started closing in March: Wardner's Bunker Hill & Sullivan then Stemwinder, Last Chance, and Sierra Nevada, followed by the Morning in Mullan. In June, when eleven carmen and shovelers struck the Frisco mine for a wage increase, mine owners shut down both the Frisco and Gem mines rather than pay wage increases in the depressed economy. July claimed Mullan's Gold Hunter. By mid-August, when Burke's Tiger and Poorman closed, the entire South Fork had shutdown.[22]

Dependent upon -- often owned by -- the mines, Coeur d'Alene banks began to fail in April. The Coeur d'Alene Bank of Wallace, the Miners Exchange Bank of Wardner, and the First National Bank of Portland, for example, all closed during the first week. DeLashmutt and his partner George McAuley owned all three of these banks and both had severely strained their accounts prior to failure. Their financial ruin led to heavy business losses throughout the district.[23] When fire destroyed seventy-five buildings in Wardner on April twentieth, the economy could not support a rebuild and the town sat charred and wasted for months.[24]

Newspapers failed as well, beginning with the Wallace American in March. When R. E. Brown left the paper after the November 1892 election, H. W. Ross became editor then, in January 1893, publisher. While the format did not change under Ross' pen, he did ease the violent flights of partisan rhetoric that distinguished "Windmill Bombasticus" Brown, while remaining a loyal Republican. Ross, for instance, complimented the conduct of press and people during the last election, which "left less bitterness and ill feeling than any for many years." "The days of bullies, rowdyism and free fights at elections," Ross said, "are a thing of the past."[25] Even his direct attacks on Democrats made their points with more dignity and less fireworks, for example: "If the elements which made democratic victory possible last November can be welded together so they will stick," Ross wrote in February, "it will be a political miracle."[26]

But Ross directed most of his sarcasm toward his fellow Republicans, and Wallace competitors, at the Miner. January through February of 1893, the American belittled the "childish simplicity and frankness of the Miner" warning editors Alfred and John Dunn that they "may enjoy a brief period of popularity in pandering to the morbid tastes of the rabble, but [the Miner] shouldn't forget that while it is doing that it is outraging all sense of decency of decent people."[27] He also accused the Dunns of "following in our footsteps in the matters of public interest," which could be dangerous for they might be "abuse[d] as a subsidized press." Better the Miner "follow the old trail and occasionally cry out that there is an enemy lurking in the wall."[28] A final warning revealed Ross' philosophy and public responsibility:

> It is the duty of the press of a place to lead with some advanced thought for the promotion of the welfare of its community, and to do something towards moulding [sic] public opinion in matters of morality and material interests, but when a press follows in the popular current and advocates popular fallacies for pecunary [sic] purposes, it is drifting in the direction of danger and destruction.[29]

The Miner was still the official Republican newspaper of Shoshone county and received party funding and personal donations from party members, although the Dunns had to reduce it from eight pages to four to survive the financial storm. Plus, John L. Dunn was the mayor of Wallace at this time. As the other Republican journal in town, Ross might have felt slighted.

By March, however, it did not matter. The Coeur d'Alene American ended on the twenty-fifth. "The publisher reluctantly discontinues the American," Ross said, "and is doing so, not because the paper is unprofitable or its patronage is not sufficient, but for reasons that he is not at liberty to state out of respect for other people." In commenting on his run, Ross said he "may have erred, but it [was] the aim of the paper to do right, and as far as possible promote the moral and material interests of this community." His closing words -- "the publisher will probably remain here and continue newspaper work" -- echoed loud, for two days later on March twenty-seventh, H. W. Ross produced the Wallace Daily Press.

> A few days ago the publisher discontinued the AMERICAN and, at that time, intended to retire from the publication of a paper here, but the announcement met with such a remonstrance against its discontinuance and guarantee of patronage from the most substantial and enterprising people in town as to warrant the publication of a daily paper.... The aim...will be to promote and protect the best interests of this section and give a daily epitome of interesting event and happenings.
>
> In politics and matters of public interest it will be entirely independent, and maintain principles; not men.[30]

But Ross was fighting a desperate economy. Even though he packed the small format four-page, four-column newspaper with 84 percent advertising and filled the news holes with local and regional business, social, and political briefs, the Daily Press lasted only 28 days.

The economic depression, however, and fear of events all too familiar, stimulated union activity. As the mine closures looked more permanent, unemployed workers began leaving the district. Single men and new arrivals, mostly imported, non-union men, left first. Eventually the population reverted to its old permanent residents, mostly union members, who kept alive by hunting, fishing, huckleberry picking, and wood cutting.[31] The return of Executive Miners' Union Committee President Thomas O'Brien, Secretary Joseph Poynton, and Mullan Union official Tom Heaney completed the Coeur d'Alene union rehabilitation. They urged an amicable resolution of union and mine owner differences and union halls reopened across the district to celebrate. With renewed respectability, residents again openly discussed their pro-union sympathies, as did the Panhandle News, Coeur d'Alene Sun, and Democrat.[32]

The returning Miners' Union officials, however, brought more than local organization. They brought news from Butte, Montana, that miners' unions throughout the West had agreed on May 19, 1893, to con-

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solidate as the Western Federation of Miners. The WFM's major purpose was to secure fair compensation and protection from unnecessary risk to health and safety. The Coeur d'Alene conflict of 1892 directly produced three WFM constitutional demands: the passage of laws to prevent mine owners from hiring of Pinkerton Detectives or private armies; the repeal of conspiracy laws that interfered with union rights, and; the preference in hiring policies for union members.[33] The local Coeur d'Alene miners' unions became charter members of the new Federation. The next year, Edward Boyce, President of the Wardner Miners' Union, was elected to the WFM executive board and in 1896 became its president.[34]

As the Federation rose, the Osburn *Coeur d'Alene Statesman* descended. The *Statesman*'s long decline seemed to coincide with its failure to capture the county seat for Osburn. H. C. Piggott spent nearly three years, tried every angle, adopted every position, spouted every platitude to convince county voters that Osburn, not Murray on the North Side and especially not Wallace, that Osburn was the logical cross road of the Coeur d'Alenes. When the mission failed on October 19, 1892, so too failed the will to continue. One month later, Piggott reduced the four-page, four-column standard-size (15-inch) newspaper to a small four-page, three-column, 12-inch format and renamed it the *Statesman and Coeur d'Alene Mining Record*. By early 1893, the newspaper became an odd two-page sheet with five columns cross-printed down the sheet's short side.

When Piggott lost his county seat agenda, he also lost his fire. After the October nineteenth issue, the *Statesman* became an information sheet. While still a four-page paper, Piggott published numerous updates on city and county government and mining activities plus numerous reprinted articles covering literary, sports, social, and other entertainment items. Its four-page, three column version continued this trend, but the limited space tended to focus more on local news briefs and gossip items with fewer re-printed pieces. The Statesman's final incarnation carried little more than a few brief local news updates with county and merchant advertising. The end was apparent and Piggott signed off on May 20, 1893, an admitted victim of the poor economic situation that could not support his paper.

Those economic prospects seemed to improve when the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific finally agreed to a $2.00 per ton freight rate reduction in July 1893, some of the smaller mines tried to open in early August, but the ore prices remained low and most closed again before reaching full employment. The larger mines claimed they could not reopen even with the freight reduction because they could not afford the union wage scale, although most larger mines continued some development work that employed about 100 men through the harsh winter of 1893-1894. The smaller mines intermittently opened and closed through the remainder of 1893 and the first half of 1894.[35]

July 1893 also brought the end of the fearsome capitalist Coeur d'Alene Barbarian. Jack Langrishe, who had operated the paper since R. E. Brown's defection to the American exactly one year previous, purchased the plant and resurrected the Wardner News masthead in August. One of the most colorful of early Coeur d'Alene editors, Langrishe had toured the West for twenty years as producer, director,

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star, and entrepreneur of boom town theaters. Moving with the gold rushes, Langrishe lived and worked in frontier towns in Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and the Dakota Territory bringing the pioneers "a touch of the culture they had left at home." He came to the Coeur d'Alenes to operate its first theatre, stayed as a journalist, and rose to political prominence as an Idaho state senator. Upon his death November 30, 1895, his wife, Jeanette Allen Langrishe, took control. The final News came out on July 7, 1914.[36]

Though Langrishe gained by the depressed economy, the Silver Panic of 1893 left both mine owners and union miners equal -- no profits for owners, no wages for miners and the district closed down. In a familiar refrain, the Dunns once again knew "THE DISEASE AND THE REMEDY" -- organized labor, outside agitators, and good citizens exerting their rights:

> For two years the only industry of the Coeur d'Alenes has practically been at a standstill, capital has been driven away, property depreciated, business demoralized and hundreds of people compelled to leave the country. There are several causes which from time to time have contributed more or less to bring about this condition, and it is not claimed that the mine owners themselves are blameless in the matter, but it is a fact that during all this long period of inactivity and business depression the one great constant, unchanging and immovable obstacle in the way of mining operations and general prosperity had been and is the miners' union.... [It] refuse[s] to consider any conditions that might reasonably effect the rate of wages, and blindly and stubbornly contend for $3.50 in abject obedience to the mandates of their brethren in Butte.
>
> It is known that for months past a majority in the union was ready and anxious to make terms with the mine owners and go to work, but the leaders seem to possess some strange influence which prevents them asserting and acting upon their rights as men and citizens.[37]

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In a shocking display of just how severe the Coeur d'Alene situation had become, Adam Aulbach, the Voice of Labor, the bitter enemy of the Dunn brothers and all things Republican, agreed:

> The present unsettled condition of lead and silver should have been taken into consideration by all intelligent laboring men, who are not bent on destroying the very industry that upholds all other classes of industry throughout the civilized world.... The mines could not be operated successfully without some labor concessions.... The majority of the mines and mills remain idle and hundreds of miners are living upon the charity of organized labor elsewhere, their families are in need and the children, we are told, frequently cry for bread.... Indeed the situation could not be more distressing.... Yet all could easily be changed and humiliation avoided by saying "We accept the proposed terms solely on account of the depressed value of silver and lead." It would have been dignified and honorable.[38]

Republican newspapers carried this message into the November 1893 election and, reversing the results of the previous year, the Republican party scored "A SWEEPING VICTORY" across the nation as state after state recorded that the "PEOPLE [WERE] TIRED OF DEMOCRACY." The American people "are quick to right a wrong," said the Dunns. "The great republican majorities and the long list of them speak out boldly against the national management," a national management blamed for the year's economic depression.[39]

The 1893 election brought down Democracy and the Democrat. Begun in September 1892 as a political organ to elect state and county Democratic candidates, the Wallace Democrat did not survive the crushing defeat of 1893. Whether for politically expedient reasons or for lack of funds, Peter Holohan closed the newspaper in mid-November and organized labor lost an outspoken ally.

The Populist party, however, had increased its presence in Shoshone county throughout 1893. Its attractive free-silver platform,

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seen as a solution to national and certainly local problems, gained miner converts as the economy continued to depress the mining industry. Sensing the opportunity vacated by the pro-union *Democrat*, the Mullan *Panhandle New*'s Harley Hughes joined a man named C. D. Vaughn to create the *Silver Star* for Burke and Gem. The *Star* was the first Coeur d'Alene newspaper to proclaim Populist politics and became a powerful voice for organized labor.[40] Hughes and Vaughn called the four-page, six-column *Star* "a paper of the common people--a newspaper and not an organ" that believed "in the free and unlimited coinage of silver" that would "support the party that makes this its paramount issue..." They called the Republican party "traitor to the people" for having demonitized silver as far back as 1873 and have since "rendered themselves unworthy of support and confidence." They felt the Democrats were little better and that "a new party must be placed in power to restore prosperity to the nation.... the Populist."[41]

The *Star* lasted one year. But before it closed after the 1894 election, the newspaper helped the "People's Party" attain so much strength in Shoshone county that Populist candidates won every office except two, probate judge and county clerk, and every Coeur d'Alene labor union endorsed the Populist platform and nominees.[42]

As the economy slowly improved through 1894, C. R. Burrus established the Wardner *Citizen*. This short-lived newspaper claimed political independence, and no copies survived to dispute it.[43]

Adam Aulbach also returned to South Fork journalism by re-introducing his Wallace *Press* as a four-column, eight-page, half-sheet weekly. The original 1889-1892 Press, the foremost champion of Coeur d'Alene labor, disbanded when martial law ended the mining war and forced Aulbach out of business. Aulbach changed the new Press to a five-column, four-page format by 1895 but he never again exhibited the zealous partisan spirit he practiced during the early 1890s. While an odd fiery editorial occassionally appeared, from 1894 on, Aulbach's journalism focused on delivering information rather than delivering society from corporate control. He finally sold the Press to E. B. Reitzel in January 1903, but continued to publish the North Fork Murray Sun into September 1912.

The rising economy of 1894, meanwhile, also brought union leaders and mine owners together throughout June, July, and August to discuss conditions as production and employment increased. They reached agreement on August fourteenth and Coeur d'Alene mines began to reopen with a union contract specifying a wage scale of $3.50/day for miners and $3.00/day for muckers. While the miners had lost their years-old battle for equal underground pay, in the end they gained, for the agreement also called for no discrimination in hiring practices against union men, specified no importation of workers, and called for preference in hiring men presently in the district, most of whom belonged to the union. The final point agreed to have all future disputes settled by arbitration. Only the Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine refused to sign, a portent for the violent events of 1899.[44]

Though granting concessions, the Mine Owners' Association had resumed its dominance in the Coeur d'Alenes. While strengthened by the Western Federation of Miners, labor still lacked the power to challenge concentrated capital. Where miners had the short-term ability to stalemate the owners -- surviving lockouts, martial law, arrests, and prosecutions -- the state usually intervened and tipped the scales in favor of capital. Ideally, the miners' unions preferred to avoid open battle. But the choice was not theirs alone. When the MOA took the offensive to drive out unionism, organized labor had no choice but to fight back. But when desperation and anger among the ranks or the unorganized became too strong, labor leaders could not halt the struggle. Violence increasingly marked their response.

To consolidate the emotion and goals of union men, to focus it and use it in a positive, non-violent, and perhaps publicly persuasive manner against Coeur d'Alene capital, the Coeur d'Alene Miners' Union and the Knights of Labor, with the help of Harley L. Hughes of the Burke/Gem Silver Star, bought the defunct Wallace Democrat's printing plant and created the Wallace Idaho State Tribune on September 20, 1894. S. Van Der Meulen, past master workman of the Knights in Iowa, became the first editor/manager of the four-page, six-column newspaper. While his "EDITORIAL GREETING" explained the need for "a paper published to aid the cause of labor reform...," he clarified that labor had already reformed one aspect:

> Without abusing or villifying [sic] anyone, who may differ with me, I shall endeavor to at all times advocate that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." Advocate under all circumstances the rights of labor, for "Capital is able to take care of itself." For labor to obtain what belongs to it, united political action in my humble opinion is the only remedy. Therefore, no doubt, republican readers, our ideas will not agree at all times. However, I shall certainly try to show you the courtesy of being entitled to your opinion....[45]

Six months later, R. E. Seysler took charge for two years, retired, and handed control to B. R. Creedon for one year. Clarence Smith then became editor and the paper updated its printing plant.[46] On October 1, 1898, the noted labor organizer James R. Sovereign joined the Tribune as editor/manager. The newspaper also became the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners during 1898. Begun with Populist sympathies, the Knights of Labor endorsed the party platform, the Tribune eventually turned Democratic when the Populism movement dissolved. With the labor-owned Idaho State Tribune, advocate journalism remained a force in the Coeur d'Alenes into the twentieth century.

Riding the Frontier/Commercial Cusp

Coeur d'Alene editors maintained their political partisanship throughout 1893 and 1894, but a subtle -- and significant -- shift had begun. While mine owners still sympathized with the Republican party and labor identified with the Democratic or Populist parties, the editorial page became the primary battle field. To this point in the history of Coeur d'Alene journalism, editors had openly commented on the local events they reported, or they presented those events from the bias of the class ideology they represented only to re-emphasize their arguments with further editorials found throughout the newspaper. As of 1893, however, Coeur d'Alene newspapers began to recount events on the front page and save commentary for the designated editorial page. And when editors did comment, they reduced their rhetoric, or, perhaps, were removing their personalities from the news. Harley Hughes, H. W. Ross, and even the labor-created Idaho State Tribune's editors simply did not match the colorful, often blasphemous, verbiage of Adam Aulbach or R. E. Brown during the early 1890s tension that led to open warfare between labor and management.

The editorial shift was an extension, or evolution, of the martial law period during which pro-labor newspapers could not survive unless their explicit class ideology was sublimated in the political arena as Democratic ideals.[47] As the economic depression deepened through 1893, closing more and more Coeur d'Alene mines, and despite the rejuvenated union, editors turned more regularly to their editorial pages and political debate. Such a shift reflected the characteristics of an emerging late-nineteenth century "new journalism" and removed the Coeur d'Alene press one step further from its frontier heritage.[48]

But not completely. Dicken-Garcia, for example, commented that "well-defined editorial pages" debuted around 1890. But, she continued, "the original idea-centered emphasis of the early national press was gone" and that editorials most often focused on actions.[49] Coeur d'Alene editors, however, remained closely in tune with the social class ideologies they promoted through party politics. The Wallace Democrat, for instance, exemplified a strong pro-labor statement that called upon "all who believe[d] in securing 'the greatest good for the greatest number' to join and assist" organized labor in making "industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness."[50]

The Dunn brothers, meanwhile, made actions speak for ideology and attacked with one short editorial a Populist candidate, a fellow editor, and unionism by resurrecting the brutal murder of John Kneebone, a blacksmith at the Gem mine, because he was a principal witness against the union indictments of 1892. On the night of July 3, 1894, forty masked men raided Kneebone's cabin, shot, and killed him. The outlaws then captured four other men, including the superintendent of the Gem mine, and escorted them out of town. Two weeks later, an attempt to dynamite the Bunker Hill mine's power house failed.

These events prompted a grand jury, but no one would testify about Kneebone's death. Defeated, the jury concluded the events and death were caused by unknown persons but criticized "union terrorism" nonetheless.[51] One month later, as the November political campaign began to heat up, the Dunns commented "on good authority" that H. L. Hughes, Populist candidate for state representative and editor of the Burke/Gem *Silver Star*, stated that Kneebone deserved to be killed and was "glad they got away with him." "Think of that," said the Dunns, "from a man who wants the people to make him a lawmaker!"[52] Thus, reluctant to part with their "idea-centered" editorializing, but willing to use action as a point of comment, the Coeur d'Alene press again straddled the frontier and commercial eras by adopting aspects of both traditions. As did Hughes in running for public office.

This hybrid approach was further emphasized by the editors' continued, though noticeably reduced, front-page commentary while reporting events or publishing news pertinent to their partisanship. The *Democrat*, for example, ran "A LABOR VICTORY" about "Two Political Strikes Which Were Successful" in Belgium,[53] while the *Miner* started their lead story with the "democratic convention has come and gone. It was a dismal failure."[54] And the *American* made "THE MAYOR'S

METHOD," who just happened to be editor J. L. Dunn, its lead story:

> The Miner, which is edited by the mayor, and whose utterances may be considered to be semi-official...instead of considering the [water works] proposition...with fairness, indulges in a tirade of personal abuse...and makes a lot of false and misleading statements.... It is an unfortunate thing for the best interests of this community that there has been at the head of municipal affairs such a shallow brained incompetent individual.[55]

But such reportage was increasingly pushed aside in favor of a more balanced delivery of facts, as when the Barbarian reported a "SHOOTING AT KELLOGG" with a lead encompassing what (a serious shooting), when (11 o'clock Thursday), where (the McKinnis' Hotel), who (James Ellison shot by Henry Merrill), and why (quarreling over land rights).[56]

Many editors who began their newspaper in 1893 or 1894 also began to claim political independence, as Ross did in his initiatory for the Daily Press: "In politics and matters of public interest it will be entirely independent, and maintain principles; not men."[57] This echoed Baldasty's finding that, for commercial interests, editors across the country were down-playing politics to avoid alienating potential readers.[58] Still, Aulbach had claimed an independence back in 1889 that quickly evolved into partisanship. Meanwhile, newspapers created for political reasons like the Silver Star and Idaho State Tribune and papers that dated from 1892 like the Miner, the Democrat, and the Barbarian remained partisan to the political parties they began with. The Dunns, for example, ran a front-page letter to the editor demeaning Populism as their lead story as late as April 1894 then blasted Shoshone county's first Populist convention three months later as nominating weak candidates with "Many Soreheads the Result."[59]

Besides a change in journalistic style, there was a subtle content shift as well. Some of the later newspapers, like H. W. Ross' Daily Press, began to exhibit a more market-oriented or business approach to journalism. Ross upheld his claim of political independence, for instance, by commenting on issues and individuals not on party sympathies or positions. At the same time, the Daily Press carried significantly more advertising than its competitors and more entertainment-based articles, which might simply reflect the need to fill a four-page newspaper every day.

But these characteristics found their way into the weeklies as well. One issue of the Panhandle News, for instance, ran a lighthearted story on "MILKING A MOOSE," a how-to story concerning "HEALTH AND SINGING FACTS FOR GIRLS WHO INTEND CULTIVATING THE VOICE" along with "ADVICE TO PARENTS" and a French statesman's comments on "MOTHERS AND MORALITY."[60] Even the union-created and funded Idaho State Tribune eventually bowed to commercial pressures by, for example, providing significant advertising directed toward a female population and front-page coverage to local sports news and cultural affairs.[61] This overt market trend in the Coeur d'Alenes can actually be traced back to December 1891 with the short-lived Daily Advertiser, which, while offering local news briefs and short editorial comments, primarily fulfilled its name.

The editors' increasing use of ready-print and boiler-plate material in 1893 also contributed to their papers' market-oriented look and feel. The Barbarian, for instance, frequently ran patent insides to fill its comparatively large eight-page format. The Dunn brothers, however, continued their policy of not using patent materials, choosing instead to clip stories from newspapers around the country and choosing to run near-blank pages that printed nothing other than a self-advertisment for the *Miner* as the "Best Advertising Medium" in North Idaho that also provided legal and commercial printing.[62] The *American* followed a similar policy.

Other market aspects found in Coeur d'Alene newspapers from their beginning but increasingly evident into the 1890s included reading notices designed as articles to lull the reader into absorbing the commercial message without realizing or analyzing it and puffs or promotions commonly used at the bottom of pages as filler that endorsed the newspapers' advertisers and products. Even the labor-supported *Idaho State Tribune* ran such text ads advising that "You will find the Old Reliable Monarch Whiskey at Cameron's" while "Magazines and periodicals [are] at Tabor's," although the *Tribune* did not stray far from its purpose by also advising: "For paying and wages for goods made here at home, Liemert, the union cigar manufacturer, should be liberally patronized."[63] Supportive use of such content lends to a growing pro-business attitude in the Coeur d'Alene press.[64]

Thus, by 1893-1894, the Coeur d'Alenes' journalistic transition was well under way. Exhibiting distinct characteristics of the frontier age that produced them and aspects of the late century new journalism they matured into, these newspapers were the epitome of hybrid journalism and a key to the complex evolution of western newspapers into our modern press. Social class partisanship, through political party identification, did not cease, for example, but it no longer, nor necessarily, permeated all the locally produced copy. With its changing community, journalism's community roles had begun to change from representing disparate social class constituencies to a broader-based community-wide constituency, which diminished the papers from interpreters of events to more, but not quite, passive transmitters of events.[65] The transitional hybrid press, in a partisan sense at least, thus evidenced a loss of editor independence. But the change had only begun. Market concerns had only tempered the frontier spirit. Coeur d'Alene editors still carried plenty of fight.

Future study will expand beyond the Coeur d'Alenes to 1) ascertain if similar developments existed on other early industrial western frontiers, then 2) determine whether/how such hybrid journalism influenced the evolution of American journalism generally, or whether/how our journalism is more intricate, irreducible, and regionalized than historians often credit.

Notes

[1] David J. Vergobbi: "Embrace the Corporation: Transition Journalism and the Wage Workers' Frontier, 1887-1889." Paper presented at 1995 AEJMC national convention, Washington D.C., August 1995; "Visible Hand: The Journalistic Drive to Incorporate a Frontier." Paper presented at American Journalism Historians Association national convention, Roanoke, Virginia, October 1994; "Social Class Advocacy Journalism: Prelude to Party Politics, 1892." Paper presented at AEJMC national convention, Atlanta, Georgia, August 1994; "'Windmills Bombasticus': Editors and the Struggle for Socio-Economic Control of a Western Mining Frontier." Paper presented at AEJMC West Coast Journalism Historians Conference, Berkeley, CA, February 1994; "The Newspaper as Social Composer of the North Idaho Mining Frontier." Paper presented at AEJMC national convention, Montreal, Quebec, August 1992; "Hybrid Press: Newspapering on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier, 1890-1892." Paper presented at AEJMC national convention, Minneapolis, MN, August 1990.

[2] James W. Carey considerd this shift in "The Communication Revolution and the Professional Communicator," Sociological Review Monograph 13 (January 1969).

[3] For description of the Coeur d'Alene district see: John M. Henderson, William S. Schiach, and Harry B. Averill, An Illustrated History of North Idaho Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai, and Shoshone Counties (Spokane, WA: Western Historical Publishing Co. 1903); Robert Wayne Smith, The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892: A Case Study of an Industrial Dispute (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press 1961); Richard G. Magnuson, Coeur d'Alene Diary: The First Ten Years of Hard Rock Mining in North Idaho, 2nd ed. (Portland, OR: Binford & Mort 1983); "Souvenir -- Coeur d'Alene Mining District," presented by Wallace Aerie No. 54 F.O.E. (Eagles), 1906.

[4] See: Carlos A. Schwantes, "Unemployment, Disinheritance, and the Origins of Labor Militancy in the Pacific Northwest, 1885-86." In Experiences in a Promised Land: Essays in Pacific Northwest History, G. Thomas Edwards & Carlos A. Schwantes (eds.) (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1986): 179-194; Schwantes, "The Concept of the Wage Workers' Frontier: A Framework for Future Research," Western Historical Quarterly (January 1987): 39-55. Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History, "Part III: From Frontier to Urban-Industrial Society" and Chap. 13 "Evolution of the Wage-workers' Frontier" (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska 1989): 251; Robert H. Blank, Individualism in Idaho: The Territorial Foundations (Pullman: Washington State University Press 1988); Richard H. Peterson, The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1991): 68; David J. Vergobbi, "Hybrid Journalism: Bridging the Frontier/ Commercial Cusp on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier, Chapters I and III," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of

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Washington, Seattle (1992); Walker De Marquis Wyman, Jr., "The Underground Miner, 1860-1910: Labor and Industrial Change in the Northern Rockies," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle (1971): 23-24. Gold, silver, and lead production figures verify the Coeur d'Alenes' transition from pioneer to early industrial. The total value of recoverable metals in 1884 was $258,375. In 1887 it reached $1,022,996 and more than doubled in 1889 to 2,532,978. Production nearly doubled again within the next year, 1890 ($4,132, 506), and the next, 1891 ($4,868,356). The 1892 downturn is apparent as the production total dropped to $3,538,684, but bounced back through the depression year of 1893 ($4,258,621). See "Table 16," *Minerals Yearbook, 1963*. (Washington D.C.: GPO 1963): 354.

[5] Smith, pp. 33-37; Frederick L. Ransome and Frank C. Calkins, "The Geology and Ore Deposits of the Coeur d'Alene District, Idaho," USGS *Professional Paper 62* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office 1908): 80.

[6] Charles A. Siringo was the MOA's Pinkerton spy, Siringo, "The Trouble in the Coeur d'Alene," *Wide World Magazine* 53:1 (c. 1893): 4-9; *A Cowboy Detective, A True Story of Twenty-Two Years with a World Famous Detective Agency, Giving the Inside Facts of the Bloody Coeur d'Alene Labor Riots* (New York: J. S. Ogilvie 1912); Stanley S. Phipps, *From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table: The Tumultuous Struggle fo the Coeur d'Alenes Miners for the Right to Organize, 1887-1942* (New York: Garland 1988): 11-12, 17-18; Job Harriman, *The Class War in Idaho. The Horrors of the Bullpen. An Indictment of Combined Capital in Conspiracy with President McKinley, General Merriam and Governor Steunenberg, for their Crimes Against the Minors (sic) of the Coeur d'Alenes*, 3rd ed. (New York: The Volks-Zeitung Library 1900; Seattle: Facsimile reproduction, The Shorey Book Store 1966): 9-10; Vernon H. Jensen, *Heritage of Conflice: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930* (New York: Greenwood Press 1968): 32-33. The MOA knew it was a violation of state law: Idaho State Legislature act approved January 20, 1891, enforcing State Constitution, Article 14, Section 6 providing "that any association, corporation, or company which shall bring or aid in bringing into this State any armed or unarmed force for the purpose of the suppression of domestic violence, shall be guilty of a felony."

[7] Smith, p. 63, quoting Coeur d'Alene district judge Fremont Wood, the last surviving participant of the 1892 events, in a interview at Boise, Idaho, July 14, 1936.

[8] Smith, p. 65.

[9] For a detailed account of 1892 events in Gem and Wardner see Smith, pp. 61-73. For contemporary pro-mine owner interpretations of the events see: George Edgar French, "The Coeur d'Alene Riots, 1892. A Story of a Great Strike," *Overland Monthly* 26 (July 1895): 32-49. French served as a 1st Lieutenant with the 4th U. S. Infantry during

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the 1892 period of martial law in the Coeur d'Alenes; F. R. Culbertson, "The Coeur d'Alene Mining District, The Lead Belt of the Coeur d'Alenes," in John Hailey, History of Idaho (Boise, ID: Syms-York Co. 1910): 431-438. Culbertson was the owner/ manager of the Tiger mine in Burke; William T. Stoll, Silver Strike: The True Story of the Silver Mining in the Coeur d'Alenes (Boston: Little, Brown 1932). Stoll was lawyer and spokesman for the Mine Owners' Association and a good friend of Charles A. Siringo, the Pinkerton spy planted in the miners union by the mine owners; Siringo, "Trouble," Cowboy. For contemporary pro-labor reports see: Harriman; Edward Boyce, "The Crime of the Century -- Worse than Siberian Cruelties under the American Flag -- The Inquisition Outdone -- Full Account of the Idaho Infamy by the President of the Federation of Western Miners," 56th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. doc. 25 (Washington, DC: GPO 1900): 1-2.

[10] Smith, p. 50.

[11] Willey papers, File 7: "Dear Sir: Please publish enclosed proclamation in Barbarian, an insertion which I hereby designate as a proper paper for that purpose under Sec. 7406 R. S. Respectfully, N. B. Willey."

[12] Telegrams from Governor Willey to President Harrison, to Sheriff Cunningham, Wallace, to General Curtis, Wallace, to Senator Shoup, Washington, D. C., to John Hays Hammond [Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine owner], San Francisco, To officer commanding Fort Missoula, 11 July 1892, to General Curtis, Cataldo, Idaho, to General Carlin, Fort Sherman [Coeur d'Alene City], to General J. M. Schofield, Washington D. C., Brigadier General Ruger, San Francisco, 12 July 1892, Willey Papers, File 5. Quote from Willey telegram to General James. F. Curtis, 14 July 1892, Willey Papers, File 5. Martial law existed from July 14 to November 19, 1892, Spokane Review, 19 November 1892, p. 2. Smith, p, 84; Henderson et al., pp. 1005-1006.

[13] Leon Epstein, Political Parties in Western Democracies (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers 1979): 9; Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976): 64; Kay Lawson (ed.), Political Parties and Linkage (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press 1980): 3; E. E. Schattschneider, Party Government (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1942): 59.

[14] Gerald M. Pomper, Passions and Interests: Political Party Concepts of American Democracy (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas 1992): 11. Pomper noted the Populists, Progressives, and other third parties as examples of the "social movement" party concept.

[15] Vergobbi, "Social Class Advocacy Journalism"; That the Coeur d'Alenes did face a social class conflict see a contemporary, if biased, report in Harriman.

[16] Richard P. Rothwell (ed.), The Mineral Industry, 1893 (New

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York: Scientific Publishing Co. 1894): 311-312. For general economic conditions see: Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant (Boston: D. C. Heath 1956): 592-596, 604; Samuel Eliot Morrison and Henry Steele Commager, Growth of the American Republic (New York: Oxford University Press 1962): 176-177, 347-352; Charles Hoffman, The Depression of the Nineties: An Economic History (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing 1970): 54-79.

[17] David T. Day, compiler, United States Geological Survey, Mineral Resources of the United States, 1893 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office 1894): 96.

[18] Hoffman, pp. 64-65, 199-200, 224-229.

[19] Spokane Review 15 January 1893, p. 5, c. 2.

[20] Wallace Miner, 14 January 1893, p. 1, c. 5, p. 2. c. 1. Interviews with general managers Thayer of the Poorman mine and John A. Finch of the Milwaukee Mining Company.

[21] Nelson W. Durham, History of the City of Spokane and the Spokane Country, Washington, 3 vols. (Spokane: S. J. Clarke Co. 1912): I, 272-273.

[22] Mullan Panhandle News, 21 March, p. 1; 21 June 1893, p. 1; Spokane Review, 3 March, p. 2; 22 March, p. 8; 8 April, p. 3; 23 June, p. 1; 15 July 1893, p. 2.

[23] Osburn Statesman, 8 April 1893, p. 1; Spokane Review, 8, 16 April 1893, p. 2.

[24] Smith, p. 20.

[25] Wallace American, 1 December 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[26] Wallace American, 25 February 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[27] Wallace American, 11 February 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[28] Wallace American, 14 January 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[29] Wallace American, 14 January 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[30] Wallace Daily Press, 27 March 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[31] Smith, p. 116, 120.

[32] Mullan Panhandle News, 21 March, p. 1; 11 April 1893, p. 1.

[33] Preamble to the Constitution of the Western Federation of Miners (1893).

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[34] Miners' Magazine (June 1901): 20.

[35] Henderson et. al., p. 1007.

[36] Henderson et al., pp. 1213-1214; Alice Cochran, "The Gold Dust Trail: Jack Langrishe's Mining Town Theaters," Montana the Magazine of Western History 20:2 (Spring 1970): 58-69. Quote from Cochran, p. 59.

[37] Wallace Miner, 23 September 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[38] Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun, 13 October 1893. Reprinted in Henderson et al., p. 1007.

[39] Wallace Miner, 11 November 1893, p. 1, c. 3; p. 2, c. 1.

[40] While the Silver Star did not claim membership in the Populist party's National Reform Press Association, many newspapers across the country did belong to what Lawrence Goodwyn characterized as the last "seat-of-the-pants democratic journalism" that dated back to colonial times. The Populist Movement: A Short History of the Agrarian Revolt in America (New York: Oxford University Press 1978): 288 and 206-212. Also see John D. Hicks, The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1931): 131, 212, 380, 384, 396.

[41] Burke/Gem Silver Star, 16 November 1893, p. 2, c. 1, 2.

[42] Henderson et al., p. 1022; William J. Gaboury, "From Statehouse to Bull Pen: Idaho Populism and the Coeur d'Alene Troubles of the 1890s," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (January 1967): 16.

[43] Henderson et al., p. 1214.

[44] Henderson et al, p. 1008; Vernon H. Jenson, Heritage of Conflict: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1950): 72-73.

[45] Wallace Idaho State Tribune, 20 September 1894, p. 1, c. 2.

[46] Henderson et al., p. 1212.

[47] Vergobbi, "Social Class Advocacy Journalism."

[48] As summarized by Edwin Emery and Michael Emery: "The new papers were low priced, aggressive, and easily read. They believed in the news function as the primary obligation of the press; they exhibited independence of editorial opinion; they crusaded actively in the community interest; they appealed to the mass audience through improved writing, better makeup, use of headlines and illustrations, and a popularization of their contents. These were the general characteristics of the 'new journalism'; the individual papers, of course, exhibited them in varying degress." In The Press and America:

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An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, 5th ed., Chap. 15, "A Revolution in National Life" (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall 1984): 238, 227-250. Also see: George Everett, "The Age of New Journalism." In William David Sloan, James G. Stovall, James D. Startt (eds.), The Media in America: A History (Worthington, OH: Publishing Horizons 1989): 217-241; Gerald Baldasty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century, "Introduction" and Chapter Five: "Shaping and Packaging the News: Luring Readers and Advertisers" (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1992); Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America, Chap 3: "Changes in News during the Nineteenth Century" (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1989): 63-96.

[49] Dicken-Garcia, p. 92.

[50] Wallace Democrat, 22 June 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[51] Samuel H. Hays (Attorney General), Report to the Governor of Idaho on the Insurrection in Shoshone County, Idaho, Commencing April 29, 1899 (30 June 1900): 5.

[52] Wallace Coeur d'Alene Miner, 4 August 1894, p. 2, c. 2.

[53] Wallace Democrat, 8 June 1893, p. 1, c. 3-6.

[54] Wallace Coeur d'Alene Miner, 1 September 1894, p. 1, c. 3.

[55] Wallace Coeur d'Alene American, 25 March 1893, p. 1, c. 1.

[56] Wardner/Wallace Coeur d'Alene Barbarian, 24 June 1893, p. 1, c. 5.

[57] Wallace Daily Press, 27 March 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[58] Baldasty, pp. 127-134.

[59] Wallace Miner, 28 July 1894, p. 3, c. 1.

[60] Mullan Panhandle News, 13 June 1893.

[61] Wallace Idaho State Tribune, 15 August 1895, p. 1, c. 3 [baseball]; 7 May 1896, p. 1, c. 4 [opera house].

[62] For example see: 3 February and 14 April 1894.

[63] Wallace Idaho State Tribune, 22 October 1894.

[64] Baldasty, pp. 140-141.

[65] As Carey discussed, pp. 32-33.

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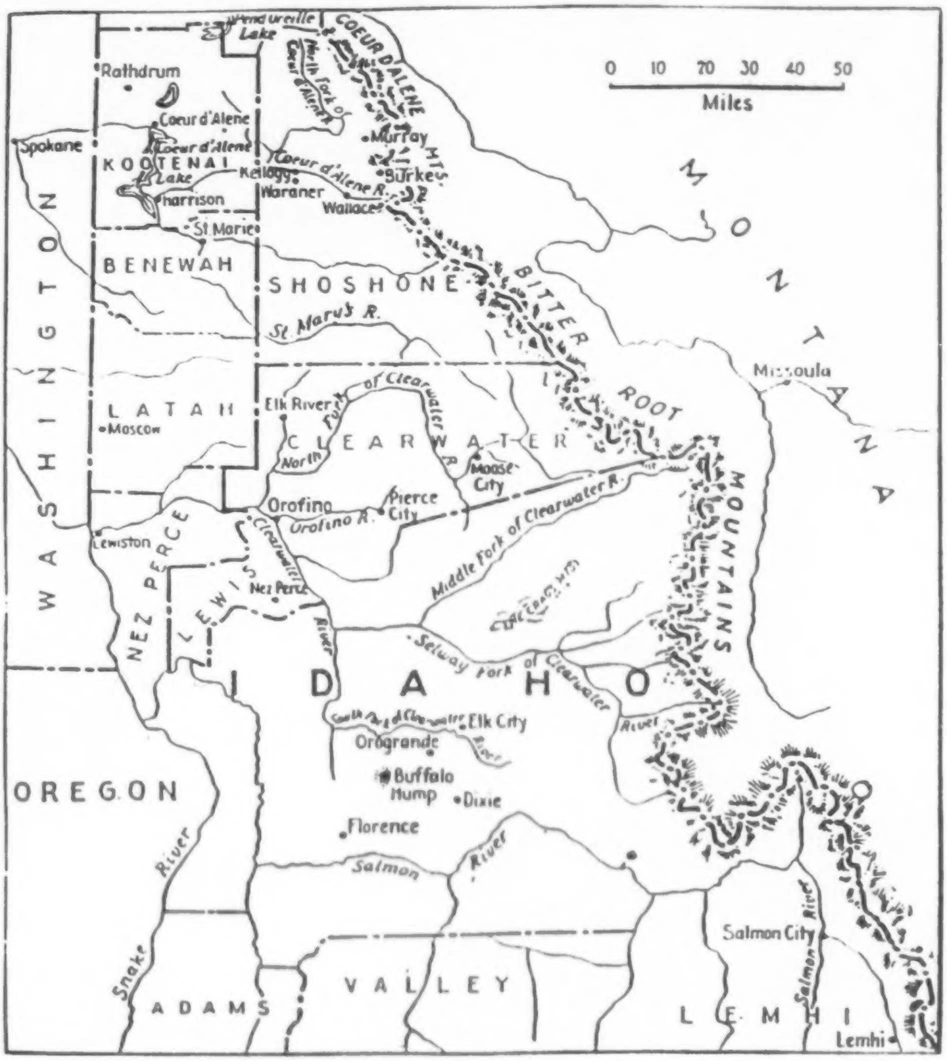
MAP 1 - The Coeur d'Alene Mining District in North Idaho's Shoshone County.


0 10 20 30 40 50
Miles
Pend Oreille Lake
COEUR D'ALENE MTS.
North Fork of Coeur d'Alene R.
Rathdrum
Coeur d'Alene
Coeur d'Alene Lake
Spokane
KOOTENAI
Kellogg
Wardner
Murray
Burke
Coeur d'Alene R.
Wallace
Harrison
St. Marie
BENEWAH
SHOSHONE
St. Marys R.
BITTER ROOT MOUNTAINS
MONTANA
Missoula
WASHINGTON
LATAH
Moscow
Elk River
North Fork of Clearwater R.
CLEARWATER
Moose City
Orofino
Orofino R.
Pierce City
Middle Fork of Clearwater R.
Lewiston
NEZ PERCE
LEWIS
Nez Perce
Clearwater River
Selway Fork of Clearwater River
IDAHO
South Fork of Clearwater River
Elk City
Orogrande
Buffalo Hump
Dixie
Florence
OREGON
Snake River
Salmon River
Salmon City
Salmon River
ADAMS
VALLEY
LEMHI
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